EDITED BY MARCELLO A. CANUTO AND JASON YAEGER

The Archaeology of Communities

A New World Perspective

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF COMMUNITIES

Although archaeology consistently refers to communities in its interpretations, concepts of communities still remain undeveloped. *The Archaeology of Communities* develops a critical evaluation of communities through a series of theoretically explicit discussions of specific archaeological case studies contributed by leading scholars of the field.

This collection bridges the gap between studies of ancient societies and ancient households. The community is taken to represent more than a mere aggregation of households; it exists in part through shared identities, as well as frequent interaction and inter-household integration.

Drawing on case studies that range in location from the Mississipi Valley to New Mexico, from the Southern Andes to the Blue Ridge Mountains of Madison County, Virgina, the contributors to this volume explore and discuss communities from a wide range of periods, from the Early Formative period to the early twentieth century. Discussions of actual communities are reinforced by strong debate on, for example, the distinction between 'imagined community' and 'natural community'.

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Marcello A. Canuto
and Jason Yaeger

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TO OUR PARENTS, FOR THEIR
UNFAILING SUPPORT

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PREFACE

Although archaeologists frequently refer to communities in research designs and interpretations, concepts of community have remained underdeveloped. In fact, most archaeologists directly associate the social entity *community* with the analytical term *site*. This uncritical use of the term has resulted in an impoverished methodological and theoretical framework for studying past communities. Curiously, this deficiency stands in stark contrast to household research in archaeology, which has been revolutionized in the last two decades by the critical examination and elaboration of methodologies and theoretical approaches. *The Archaeology of Communities: A New World Perspective* seeks to do the same for community-level research by assessing the community as a unit of analysis through theoretically explicit discussions of specific archaeological case studies from across the Americas.

In order to advance the archaeological study of communities, we have juxtaposed and compared approaches from different regions that have distinct intellectual histories, conditions of preservation, and cultural traditions. In fact, we have tried to include multiple contributions from some of the same geographical regions in order to provide both the inter-regional breadth and the intra-regional depth that encourage cross-regional discussion. Specifically, the volume attempts to: (1) provide comparative data from a wide range of archaeological contexts from the Americas; (2) propose and evaluate distinct methodologies for the analysis of communities; and (3) assess the nature of these analyses in light of the specific archaeological cases represented. In this manner, the volume contributes to the archaeological study of communities on three different levels – empirical, methodological, and theoretical – and it can be read at any of these levels.

The contributed chapters neither endorse any single approach to communities nor follow a given theoretical perspective. However, the contributors do share as a starting point a dissatisfaction with simplistic spatial or ecological definitions of communities. Although convenient archaeological constructs, these definitions have little basis in ethnological or archaeological realities. From this shared foundation, each author elaborates her or his own approach to the study of ancient communities, while using a

concrete archaeological database. The result is a collection of theoretically explicit analyses that not only demonstrates the complexity of ancient communities but, more importantly, offers new and alternative analytical approaches for their study. As a group, the chapters that follow juxtapose multiple approaches to the study of ancient communities, call attention to the community's complex social nature, and propose fruitful ways to gain a deeper understanding of the community.

Marcello A. Canuto
Jason Yaeger
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1

INTRODUCING AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF COMMUNITIES

Jason Yaeger and Marcello A. Canuto

With this volume, we hope to invigorate the study of past communities. Archaeologists have long pursued theoretically and methodologically innovative research on social institutions like polities, households, and regions. However, research on the community has stagnated, despite a multitude of sociological, ethnographic, and ethnohistoric studies that have shown it to be one of the most important and meaningful contexts for social interaction. Given the community's central place in most societies, it is incumbent upon archaeologists to contribute to this study by finding ways to recover ancient communities embedded within the archaeological record. First, however, archaeologists must define "community" and then seek ways to make that definition archaeologically meaningful. Because we feel this goal is best achieved through comparative analysis, this volume brings together ten studies in which scholars with diverse models of community examine specific archaeological cases in the Americas, from Formative-period South America to nineteenth-century Appalachia. Joyce Marcus and William Isbell each provide concluding chapters that examine the themes unifying the contributions and assess the potential contributions of what we call an "archaeology of communities."

We would like to introduce this volume with a broader discussion of the community and the major issues that we feel an archaeology of communities must address. We do not intend this discussion or the volume as a whole to be programmatic. The contributors bring a diversity of approaches to the study of past communities, and we hope that this multiplicity of perspectives will invigorate discussion and stimulate critical examination of the ideas that archaeologists have adopted in regard to the community. Despite their different theoretical approaches, however, the contributors agree that a more explicit and focused archaeology of communities, situated between household archaeology and regional studies, promises to yield

unique insights on identity and group membership, social organization, and socioeconomic integration.

Theoretical perspectives on the community

Ethnographic and sociological research have long engaged in community studies, using many distinct models and approaches. Here, we distinguish four such approaches that we label structural-functionalist, historical-developmental, ideational, and interactional. The following brief descriptions of these perspectives serve as a background for our examination of how archaeologists have defined the community.

Structural-functionalist research has focused primarily on the functions that a community serves within a social structure. From this perspective, the community is a co-residential collection of individuals or households characterized by day-to-day interaction, shared experiences, and common culture (Murdock 1949). Structural-functionalists and functionalists see the community as a natural "human whole" that serves as a society's principal unit of biological and cultural reproduction (Arensberg 1961; Redfield 1955). Although this approach has been an important stimulus for community studies in archaeology, its practitioners often assume the existence of community integration and rarely problematize the community's origins and maintenance because it is teleologically assumed to be a pre-existing and natural social entity.

These short-comings spurred historical-developmental reactions to the structural-functionalist approach. Led by Eric Wolf (1956), researchers began to ask how communities come into existence. Wolf and others (Gould 1959; Marriott 1955; Mintz 1956) stressed the roles of external and historical forces in conditioning a community's internal structure, arguing that distinct conditions would create different kinds of communities (Wolf 1955). By studying extra-community factors, these scholars rejected the notion of the community as a social isolate reflective only of local integrative mechanisms. However, the political economy and world systems analyses that mark this perspective not only de-emphasize the role of local generative forces in the development of communities, but also ignore the fact that external forces are inevitably transformed as they are refracted through the community's local structures and social relationships.

Ideational approaches focus on how people perceive themselves and their place in a community. Recent anthropological thinking (Cohen 1994) has conceived of identity as a more plastic conception of self, in which individuals shift or change identities situationally. Identities, including community membership, are based in part on qualities that people see themselves as sharing with others, as well as criteria they perceive as distinguishing themselves from others (Anderson 1991; Cohen 1985). From this perspective, social identity represents the coalescence of mutually agreed

upon and self-ascribed cultural categories. This does not imply, however, that all community members share the same idea of what constitutes community membership or which underlying issues unite them. Although shared identity is a key component of the community, strongly ascriptive models of community identity can lose sight of the important complementing and constraining role that external structures place on self-identification.

Finally, interactional approaches ask how people create communities through their relationships. Most definitions of community have seen interaction between community members as a necessary condition of its existence (after Murdock 1949), and models of social organization often recognize the importance of interaction in structuring society (Barth 1966; Firth 1961). It has been the practice theory perspective, however, that has emphasized interaction most strongly, positioning individual practice as the locus for the production of the patterned processes that create and recreate society (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984). Instead of seeing the community as the basis for social interaction and reproduction, a practice or agent-oriented approach views all social institutions, including the community, as socially constituted (also Anderson 1991). However, this perspective does not ignore spatial and material conditions, viewing them as constitutive of the structures that pattern practice (Bourdieu 1973; Cunningham 1973).

The community in archaeology

Following broader trends in anthropology, archaeologists have often taken a special interest in communities. However, relatively few have problematized it as an object of study by posing the deceptively simple question: "What is a community?" Following George Murdock (1949), they often envision communities as relatively static, conservative, closed, and homogenous social units maintained by residential proximity, a shared normative culture, and the daily experiences common to its members. Despite the range of alternatives summarized above, most archaeologists have adopted (often implicitly) a variation of Murdock's definition, in part because it includes several archaeologically visible material markers: discrete spatial patterning of activities, residential nucleation, and shared material culture. In other words, Murdock's definition appears to be neatly compatible with the unit of archaeological analysis called "the site."

In the early part of this century, when site-based research dominated archaeology, archaeologists generally equated community and site. As New World archaeologists became disenchanted with the culture-historical paradigm in the 1950s, they began to focus on issues of cultural ecology and social evolution, topics that often implied a scale of analysis larger than the site. These new research questions energized the nascent field of regional settlement pattern research, which was soon strongly informed by the generalizing and positivist epistemology of processualism (Clarke 1977; Trigger

1967). Even though these new questions were not incompatible with community analyses, as witnessed by *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (Flannery 1976; also Chang 1968 and Willey 1968), most scholars addressed them from a large-scale, regional perspective (Johnson 1977; Parsons 1972; Roper 1979; Sanders 1956). More recently, household archaeology has emerged as a complement to regional approaches and as a reaction to an earlier emphasis in many areas on large sites and elite members of society (Rathje 1983; Wilk and Rathje 1982). Most household archaeologists adopt a behavioral perspective in studying ancient societies at their smaller scales. In so doing, they adopt processual and comparative frameworks (Netting, Wilk, and Arnould 1984) that address broad issues of social and economic organization and social evolution.

Settlement archaeology and household archaeology have made contributions to the study of the past that should not be underestimated. However, the building-block typologies and functionalist frameworks they often adopt have had negative consequences for the archaeological study of communities, the most debilitating of which has been the continued equation of the archaeological site with the social community. Settlement pattern studies often conceive of communities as settlement types that fulfill specific functions within a larger social system. In contrast, household archaeology generally views the community as an aggregation of households. Despite some exceptions, neither regional nor household approaches have generally examined the community as a dynamic and complex social institution, reinforcing instead a decades-old socio-spatial, static model of community.

The conjunction of processual archaeology's problem-oriented paradigm and its interest in issues of environmental adaptation, cultural materialism, political economy, and economic structure has also contributed to the paucity of community-based archaeology in recent decades. As was the case with ethnographic community studies (Chambers and Young 1979), the community ceased to be an object of study in-and-of-itself as archaeologists became increasingly question-oriented. The site – and implicitly the community – came to be the laboratory in which to ask research questions and test hypotheses (also Arensberg 1961). Thus, despite processual archaeology's important contributions to our field, it did not stimulate much explicit community-level research (exceptions include Hill 1970; Longacre 1970).

Recently, there has been a surge in archaeological research interest in the community, driven in part by an awareness of the community's importance in larger social processes and an interest in interaction (Kolb and Snead 1997; Rogers and Smith 1995; Schwartz and Falconer 1994; Wills and Leonard 1994). Unfortunately, many scholars continue to adopt what we believe to be unrealistic and limiting functionalist and behavioralist definitions of the community. In a welcome presentation of an explicit and robust archaeological definition of the community, Michael Kolb and James Snead (1997) offer a view of the community heavily influenced by their

theoretical interests in political economy. They cast the community in terms of three archaeologically visible functions – social reproduction, subsistence production, and self-identification/social recognition – that they correlate with archaeological indices of labor investment, inter- and intra-site spacing, and exchange and stylistic patterning. Together, these three functions characterize the community as a "sociospatial setting" (Kolb and Snead 1997: 611). Although their cross-cultural approach and explicit definition form a useful and important contribution, their definition seems to us to be overly functionalist, bypassing intricate issues concerning community development and change. Furthermore, in focusing their definition on archaeological correlates, they establish a somewhat circular relationship between their methods and their theory, resulting in descriptive rather than analytical interpretations of their evidence.

One problem we see with archaeologically-driven definitions of social institutions like the community is that, because they are born of a keen awareness of the limits of the material record, they often represent methods for operational recognition rather than analytical theories. An emphasis on recognition over analysis allows concepts like "community" to remain unproblematized, because the object of study arises directly from the data. Furthermore, such approaches frequently ignore issues of social creation, manipulation, and meaning that have become increasingly important as we inject concepts of agency, practice, structuration, and interaction into our models of the past (Blanton 1994; Brumfiel 1994; Hayden 1990; Johnson 1989; Jones 1997; Saitta 1994). This growing focus on agency and interaction actively discourages the reification of social institutions like the community by emphasizing how individual actors competently manipulate their place within multiple social contexts, which are in turn contingent on agents' practices. Consequently, we eschew definitions that essentialize the community by focusing on its form and function. Instead, we advocate conceiving of the community as a dynamic socially constituted institution that is contingent upon human agency for its creation and continued existence.

The community as a socially constituted institution

In our studies of the community, we found the four theoretical perspectives discussed above to be useful, but individually insufficient. We believe that a modified interactionalist paradigm, informed by practice theory, holds the most promise for understanding communities. We see the community, in its simplest description, as the conjunction of "people, place, and premise," to borrow a phrase from John Watanabe (1992). More specifically, it is an ever-emergent social institution that generates and is generated by supra-household interactions that are structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time. Daily interactions rely on and, in

turn, develop shared premises or understandings, which can be mobilized in the development of common community identities. We do not neglect the spatial aspect of the community because there must exist physical venues for the repeated, meaningful interaction needed to create and maintain a community, but we reject notions of the community as solely a socio-spatial unit. Although this view does not imply co-residence of a community's members, it does require their frequent co-presence, at least for periods prior to the invention of technologies like the Internet and telephone that allow for frequent, but physically distanced, interaction.

This interactionalist perspective focuses our attention squarely on the relationship between the interactions that occur in a given space and the sense of shared identity that both fosters and is fostered by these interactions. Furthermore, pairing the concepts of shared space and practice yields models that avoid the reification or essentialization of "community." However, this definition also has a level of inherent flexibility that could lead to models that generalize the concept beyond the point of analytical usefulness. The systematic inclusion of a community's temporal context can mitigate this tendency by showing how every community contains an irreducible and historically contingent dimension, an insight derived from both the historical-developmental and interactionalist paradigms.

Conceiving it as both an institution that structures the practices of its members within defined spaces and the continually emergent product of that interaction requires acknowledging that we study *instances* of communities that have a definite and irreducible historical quality. The sets of mutually understandable interactions that in part constitute it are interlaced by a historically contingent and dynamic context that gives particular meanings to those interactions. In this sense, a community is defined not just by spaces, people, and their synchronized interaction, but also by its historical context. This type of contextualization guards against overgeneralization by reminding us of the specificity of meanings and interactions produced within any particular community (Hodder 1987, 1990).

Exploring the socially constituted community

The definition of the community that we employ is relatively flexible and unhindering. Although our theoretical perspective and empirical observations of the social world motivate our choice of this definition, we also favor it precisely because it encourages in-depth exploration of the diversity and complexity of ancient and modern communities, such as those that appear in this volume. However, adopting such a broad and flexible definition requires accepting that the community is an inherently social entity, diverse in its manifestations and temporally ephemeral. The community thus conceived might at first appear indistinguishable from other social groupings like ethnicity, lineage, or faction, raising the criticism that our

interactionalist perspective fails to define the community with enough distinguishing characteristics to render it analytically unique.

The key to resolving this apparent problem lies in the fact that our definition de-emphasizes the logic of community identity (spatial, kin-based, ethnic, occupational, religious) and focuses instead on the communal aspect of interaction and identity formation. When members of another social grouping happen to interact in such a fashion, they can form a community. Indeed, in some areas, ethnicity and community are nearly co-terminous; in others, kin group and community strongly converge. Changing patterns of interaction, however, can lead to the dissolution of these communities without the disappearance of ethnic or kin identities. The community, at its core, relies on mutual interaction for its continued existence, while these other types of groups may depend less on frequent interaction and more on emically defined and "imagined" essential characteristics (*sensu* Anderson 1991). Goldstein's contribution to this volume illustrates the central role of interaction in a central Andean diasporic settlement, in which networks of interaction constitute a single community whose members are residentially dispersed across different ecological niches.

Clearly, although a community is an important focus for interaction, it does not exclude other types of social groupings, and we should not expect the community to represent a person's sole – or even primary – identity. The members of the Andean community Goldstein describes are also united by their shared ethnicity, demonstrating that a community can provide a shared identity, while simultaneously acting as a context for interaction that creates or modifies other identities. In fact, a community can serve as a crucible where multiple and potentially incompatible or antagonistic identities such as factions, lineages, genders, and ethnicities interact, competing with or complementing one another (see Schortman and Nakamura 1991). In seventeenth-century Kotyiti Pueblo in the southwestern United States, Preucel describes how discourses generated a common community identity shared by multiple ethnic groups. His view of the community as contingent upon practice and discourse leads to an interesting analysis of changing emic views of social identity at Kotyiti. Zeidler's study of changing gender roles in Formative villages in coastal Ecuador illustrates the place of gender in structuring the internal complexity of the community, while Yaeger outlines several layers of identity that crosscut and encompass a small Classic-period Maya community.

Seen as a social entity, the community can take multiple and diverse forms, leading to questions of identification. Hare's analysis of Aztec settlement tackles this particular issue by looking at both archaeological and historical data. He demonstrates a correspondence between various scales of archaeological settlements and historically documented social groupings, attempting to determine which scale of interaction would best be understood emically as a community. Although we would argue that multiple

levels of community can and often do exist concurrently, in many societies one level or type might have an emic salience, illustrating the importance of recovering emic understandings of community. Marcus underscores this point in her broader, comparative study of emic views of community across the Americas.

One important component of emic identity in many communities is a sentiment of common fate and a series of criteria by which members explicitly define themselves as an "us" versus some external "them" (Barth 1969), as seems to be the case at Kotyiti Pueblo. In an interesting reversal, Horning demonstrates how popular culture perceptions of "backward" Appalachian communities formed an externally generated identity that community members accepted, rejected, and sometimes used to their advantage. In contrast, other communities seem to be more "incidental," structured by material and social conditions of existence whose structuring effects were not necessarily recognized or discussed by their members. In fact, Mehrer's study of Mississippian period settlement near Cahokia demonstrates that communities, seen as social adaptations, change as a result of systemic transformations. In their chapter on central Honduran Classic-period communities, Joyce and Hendon document two ends of a continuum between structurally dictated and self-ascribed communities, a continuum measured by the degree to which the community is a consciously established identity. Similarly, Bartlett and McAnany discuss how community identity came to be expressed symbolically through ceramic production in Late Formative Maya villages in Belize, contrasting that with earlier periods marked by less explicit marking of village differentiation.

The interactive model we advocate acknowledges the importance of multiple scales of social interaction in constituting community identity. Although pragmatic domestic practices of consumption represent an important form of social interaction, a community does not arise from that set of daily interactions alone. Horning, Preucel, and Yaeger show how multiple strands of interaction in local and regional contexts become inextricably interwoven in processes of identity formation. These analyses demonstrate the complexity inherent in an interaction-based approach to the community and one of the reasons that the community defined in this way resists essentialization.

Finally, the definition of community employed here dictates that the community be viewed as ephemeral and ever-emergent. Even though, as archaeologists, we recover only the static remains of communities, we should not be tempted to assume that communities are similarly static. This awareness should instead stimulate archaeologists to look for dynamic patterns in community organization and identity, as the contributors to this volume do. As a socially constituted entity, the community leaves material signatures that reflect the repeated inscription and citation (to borrow terms from Joyce and Hendon, this volume) of its inhabitants. Therefore, as outcomes

of social action, communities represent a contextual, contingent, and temporally circumscribed materialization of people's thoughts concerning community identity. This view is best exemplified by Pauketat's study of the changing settlement patterns in the American Bottom during Late Woodland and Mississippian times. Favoring an interactionalist practice-based view of the community, Pauketat interprets changing settlement patterns and community organization as a result of changing emic conceptions of community and identity.

Methodological issues for an archaeology of communities

We have argued that archaeological definitions of community have often been overly structured by methodological concerns, and that an archaeology of communities should instead confront issues of methodology as they arise logically from definitional and theoretical concerns. Given our interactionalist practice-oriented definition, we are now poised to ask the question "How do we approach the study of a past community?" Although many methodological issues and challenges are common to all archaeology, those especially important to an archaeology of communities include: (1) the correlation of spatial and social units; (2) problems of scale and sampling; (3) the recognition of interaction; and (4) the question of palimpsests.

A methodological concern that lies at the core of all archaeological research is the relationship between the etically defined patterns in the material record and emically meaningful groups. Marcus and Hare both point out the difficulties in determining whether an archaeological unit like a house mound cluster was recognizable in the past as a socially meaningful community. Even though archaeologists have demonstrated that spatial patterning of cultural material does not necessarily directly reflect social entities (Binford 1965; Clarke 1968; Hodder 1978), many continue to operationalize the community as a set of spatially discrete structures. We want to stress the potential lack of fit between the social configuration "community" and the cluster of material remains "site." Although archaeologists have recognized the importance of distinguishing house from household (Ashmore and Wilk 1988), an awareness that this same logical disjunction pertains to site and community remains limited. The community is not a spatial cluster of material remains to be observed, but rather a social process to be inferred, a fact made clear in the communities studied by Goldstein and Horning.

Another critical concern to an archaeology of communities is the issue of scale, a topic we have mentioned above. Understanding the community as we define it requires an explicitly middle-level approach that bridges the epistemological and empirical gaps between the well-developed studies of

households and those of polities and regional settlement. One limitation of household archaeology and some settlement pattern research has been its bottom-up paradigm, focusing on the household as the basic unit of society (de Montmollin 1988). Communities, composed of many constituent households, represent a higher level of social organization at the supra-household level. As such, a community cannot be understood using a purely additive approach that combines and compares data from disparate household groups without detailed consideration of their larger social context. Conversely, top-down approaches like some regional settlement archaeology and elite-based studies rarely collect data with the resolution necessary to address the internal workings of individual communities.

An archaeological study of a community must define its sampling universe with this mid-level scale in mind. Within the universe of physical remains thought to relate to a particular community, what archaeological units are to be sampled? Communities are composed of people, arising out of their interaction, but as units of analysis, people tend to be archaeologically invisible. In most cases, a micro-region will be the best sampling universe (Gaffney and Gaffney 1988; Kolb and Snead 1997). Defined as an area larger than an individual site but smaller than a settlement region, a micro-region delimits a mid-level scale of analysis that includes both diverse material remains found within an area and intra-site spaces. Within this region, a full coverage survey provides the best way to gather data on the full variety of features (e.g. houses, refuse areas, accessways, agricultural fields, and boundary features) that reflect human practice and provide material constraints to past interactions. The appropriate dimensions of the micro-region are case-specific rather than fixed. In fact, spatial analysis provides a good method to determine the degree of coresidentiality of a community's members. Where there exist strong indications that community organization did not manifest itself in a spatially discrete zone (see Goldstein, Joyce and Hendon, this volume) a micro-region approach should reveal no such patterning at scales from the site to the region. Moreover, Hare's study demonstrates the advantages of examining multiple analytical scales, which can be used to assess several possible kinds of communities.

Within the heuristically established micro-region, the house will generally form the basic unit of analysis. Robust sampling and extensive excavation of domestic features should permit a view of the compositional heterogeneity of the community and shed light on the range of practices that helped constitute the community. The greater the degree to which a single exemplar of an analytical unit is taken to be representative of the others in the community, the poorer our understanding of the community and the role of practice in its creation (for the advantages of extensive intra-community sampling see Yaeger, this volume). Extensive excavation of basic analytical units like houses is important, furthermore, because it is incumbent upon us to understand as much about interaction not only

between but also within households in order to limit the inferential jump we must make when we theorize about the individuals whose interactions constituted the patterned differences in the material record.

Central to our definition of the community is interaction, the archaeological recognition of which has often proven difficult. Although material culture does not unambiguously nor consistently convey social meanings (Binford 1962; Hodder 1978; Shennan 1978), archaeologists can attempt to counteract this ambiguity by examining the material conditions that structured those interactions. As the contributors to this volume demonstrate, archaeology can avail itself of (1) spatial analysis that looks at intra/inter-unit spacing, access patterns, and boundary maintenance (see Joyce and Hendon, Preucel, this volume); (2) techno-material studies that include analysis of artifact styles, exotic goods, resource scarcity, and labor investment (see Bartlett and McAnany, Horning, Mehrer, Pauketat, Yaeger, Zeidler, this volume); and (3) demographic studies of settlement patterning, ecological adaptation, site number and nucleation/dispersion (see Goldenstein, Hare, Horning, Joyce and Hendon, this volume). Using these archaeological indices, we can assess conditions that structured interaction in the past, such as residential proximity, the nature of private and public spheres, internal social stratification, socioeconomic disparity, communal activity, population size, and subsistence technologies.

Finally, we must contend with the fact that the archaeological record actually represents a palimpsest of the material outcomes of interactions whose contemporaneity cannot be assumed (see Hirth 1993 for a similar conception of households). If a community is based on patterned and synchronized interaction of individuals within a certain temporal span, how can we demonstrate the contemporaneity of the patterns we recognize archaeologically? Stratigraphic connections generally become more tenuous and eventually disappear as the spatial scale of analysis increases; moreover, chronological tools like ceramic sequences and radiocarbon dating do not provide adequate resolution for determining contemporaneity. Although historical documents can often provide a more textured understanding of the contemporaneity and synchronization of interactions (see Horning, Preucel, this volume), ever more ephemeral structures and individual interactions are rarely directly observable and must instead be inferred, even in many historically documented communities.

As we advocated in relation to studying interaction, we would argue that we can address this issue by recognizing the important roles of structuring forces and attempting to identify the more consistent meaningful social interactions, many of which might not have been strictly contemporaneous. Even though individual practices might prove too ephemeral to be seen in the archaeological record, the effects of a sequence of consistent practices within a circumscribed space creates salient and archaeologically recognizable material patterns that structure and reflect the interaction therein (see

Joyce and Hendon, this volume). Meaningful practice is also often embedded in broader temporal frames, such as seasonal agricultural cycles, periodic rituals, cooperative public works projects, and life events, that we can identify archaeologically. Thus, although communities often exist as dynamic social creations for centuries and demonstrate remarkable change through their life histories, short-term community dynamics are structured by the less pliable and more durable material and spatial conditions of its members' existence. These lasting structures pertain to what one might call the *longue durée* of the community (Braudel 1980; also Bintliff 1991; Knapp 1992). These long-lived structures historically unite sequent instances of community, proving as salient in the archaeological record as they are in the minds and interactions of the people whose existence they structured (see Preucel, this volume). In these ways, an archaeology of communities can still attempt to place patterns within the material record into specific socio-historical contexts, despite the existence of only coarse temporal markers.

Conclusions

The approach we have advocated here holds great potential for advancing our knowledge of past societies and, more broadly, our understanding of community in the social sciences. Drawing from theoretical frameworks generated predominately by anthropology, we have parted from the methodology-first approach to the study of past communities that has long hindered archaeology. In fact, we assessed the community's relationship to the material world and archaeological methodology only after defining it as an emergent and socially-constituted institution. Although the contributors follow our view of the community to differing degrees, their case studies demonstrate the diversity inherent in the community as an institution and the productiveness of different theoretical perspectives. Furthermore, their studies are a testament to archaeology's increasing emphasis on the complex social nature of the past, which has come to demand an "archaeology of communities," rather than a "community archaeology," that will serve as a stimulus for continued exploration of the community in societies past and present.

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2

POLITICIZATION AND COMMUNITY IN THE PRE-COLUMBIAN MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

Timothy R. Pauketat

For three decades, "settlement archaeology" recognized households and communities as building blocks of societies (Clarke 1977; Parsons 1972; Trigger 1967). In the Mississippi valley, this building-block approach was used to isolate research problems with considerable success (e.g. Bareis and Porter, 1984; Morse and Morse 1983; Smith 1978a). Unfortunately, a practical if not theoretical consequence of the study of households and communities there, and everywhere, is the reification of these social phenomena as static types. As a result, households become the smallest units of economic coordination, and communities become clusters of cooperating households. Society, then, evolves because of the adaptive pressures to coordinate and cooperate at the level of households and communities (see Johnson and Earle 1987: 18).

This building-block approach is woefully insufficient to approach the questions being asked today about the communities of the past. Households and communities were not always or in the same way the basal features of social organization and economic coordination. Households may not have acted in their own economic interests and communities did not necessarily coordinate these interests (see Donham 1981; Netting *et al.*, 1982; Wilk 1989, 1991). Moreover, we should not assume, in a teleological fashion, that household- and community-level cooperation formed the basis of social-evolutionary change. In other words, the form and function of households and communities at any point in time does not necessarily explain the evolution of society up to that point. Instead, we should consider that the forms of households or communities themselves require explanations in diachronic and historically contingent terms (Rogers 1995a: 8–10). This consideration is particularly apparent where central settlements of many so-called households were surrounded by many settlements of one or two

households each, as in various Mississippian cases (e.g. Rogers and Smith 1995). Where were the boundaries of community? What were the bases for the perpetuation of community through time? More importantly, how was community related to political centralization?

Evidence exists from the Mississippi valley of the eleventh through thirteenth centuries AD to argue that diverse, small-scale communities were forged into unified and larger-scale *political communities* where – not incidentally – households assumed socioeconomic responsibilities that had been vested in antecedent communal contexts. The mechanism by which this was accomplished, I will argue, was through the "politicization" of antecedent community traditions. I will review the archaeological evidence that pertains to politicization from the Central Mississippi Valley and the Yazoo Basin (Figure 2.1). Additional data from Greater Cahokia, to the north, are then used to identify the critical factors in the creation of Mississippian communities.

Politicization and Mississippian communities

There currently exist two broad and conflicting explanations of the development of Mississippian societies. Some archaeologists speak of an evolutionary process, beginning as early as the eighth century AD, that gradually culminated in a "mature" Mississippian way of life. Their explanations tend to assume a building-block position and invoke teleology to explain Mississippianism: "surpluses, a natural product of sensible decisions made by individual households, would have been routinely available for ambitious leaders, and eventually chiefs, to use for their own purposes" (Milner 1998: 175). Others, particularly in regions around the earliest Mississippian polities, see evidence of more abrupt "Mississippianizations" of local peoples (see Emerson and Lewis 1991; Pauketat and Emerson 1997a). Their explanations tend to be historical, stressing human agency and the transmission of ideas as these constrained social changes (see Pauketat 1998b).

Ultimately, the two positions are irreconcilable. The conflict between the building-block approach and the historical position is partially mitigated by the archaeological observation – now possible given accumulating research results – that various Mississippian peoples experienced very different and uneven if not oscillating developmental trajectories (e.g. Anderson 1994). Beyond this, the conflict between the two has a deeper theoretical basis that, for my purposes, hinges on the analytical separation of communal from political phenomena. From the building-block vantage point, the communal realm, or the domestic economy, is seen to exist outside of the political realm (see Earle's [1994] adaptation of this materialist opposition). From that vantage point, communities resist political appropriation, inhibit political development, and adapt *en masse* to altered

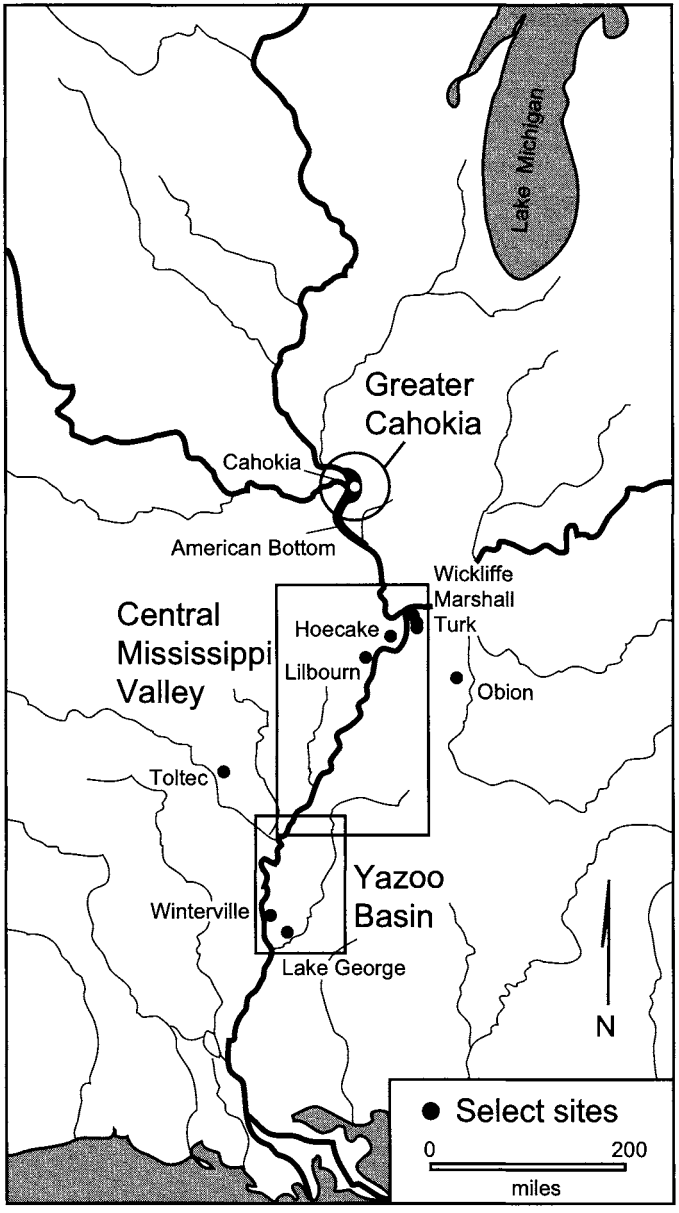

Figure 2.1 Archaeological sites within the Mississippi Valley

external conditions. Communities were "scaled up from the household, not organized from the mound center" (Muller 1997: 192). According to Jon Muller (1997: 402), community was a module in between the household and the mound center. Perhaps the community-as-module construct seems desirable because it avoids the "sophisticated delusions" of kinship systems and cultural identities (Harris 1968: 360). Certainly, the idea of a community-as-module relieves the researcher of providing a diachronic explanation of community. It also does not demand that human actions be invoked to explain the perpetuation or transformation of community. From the building-block perspective, community is an essential social fact (*sensu* Durkheim 1938).

On the other hand, community could be seen, in terms diametrically opposed to the modular approach, as a process of group-identity formation. Community, here, would be a fluid domain of identity, affinity, and even polity. This fluid view of community was anticipated by the structural–functionalism of the 1930s. For instance, S. Nadel (1967 [1935]: 299) spoke of community as an organizing principal, a "binding force." The state, for him and others, developed *in the context of community*. Similar views were prevalent in political and symbolic anthropology beginning in the 1960s. They continue in contemporary theory (see Ortner 1994; Vincent 1990). F. Bailey (1969) identified two types of "communities" – political and moral. Political communities are defined via their transactional character, dynamic boundaries (open or closed), and unifying symbols. That is, political communities could be regional phenomena that crosscut settlements, not unlike Victor Turner's (1967) "cults," Elizabeth Brumfiel's (1994) "factions," or David Kertzer's (1988) "social movements."

I do not advocate reifying the idea of "political community" into yet another social type. Rather, we should recognize that all communities have a political aspect. Indeed, they are at once "moral" *and* political (see also Scott 1976). Social groupings, that is, are dynamic and hinge on the active creation and re-creation – here is where politics comes in – of some sense of group identity, an "*esprit de corps*" (Kertzer 1988: 72; see also Kelly and Kaplan 1990). This brings us perilously close to the sticky subject of ethnicity, which in fact has been referred to as an "imagined community" (Anderson 1983, discussed by Norval 1996: 60). I will not delve into ethnicity here, but will restrict my concern to the contexts of social life in which domestic routines and day-to-day interactions were structured. Suffice it to say that community is part of a process that, because it does not necessarily correlate with a site or with a neatly defined population, is probably related to ethnogenesis.

The communal realm in these identity-formation terms may range from the contexts of the house to the grounds of political capitals. For instance, "house societies" encompass groups unified around domestic–cultural themes embodied in architecture, descent, and alliance (see Carsten and Hugh-Jones

1995). In these and other contexts, group solidarity may accompany supra-settlement exchanges of things or people (see Meillassoux 1981; Sahlins 1972). Community in certain paramount chiefdoms and early states may have been defined by an "adherence to a given chief or king" (see Sahlins 1985: 45), sometimes via community labor (Knight 1989). Community, of a sort, also might have been forged through the supra-settlement segregation of engendered practices, leading to more or less masculine and feminine "communities" with divergent "political" and "moral" tendencies (see Gailey 1987; Hastorf 1991; Therkorn 1987).

Indeed, while communities have both political and moral elements, the relationship of the elements is probably dialectical such that the moral component of community, in certain phases, could be seen to inhibit political change and vice versa. My recognition of this quality is not the same as asserting that communities are distinct from and always resist political realms. Clearly, resistance to the state or its development is a well-documented phenomenon among colonized, enslaved, or otherwise marginalized communities (Scott 1990). Resistance in these and other cases, however, is actively prosecuted by individuals through their actions and representations. It may or may not involve overt, conscious activity and it may or may not lead to dramatic and long-term social change, all dependent on a variety of historical circumstances that enter into the collective "negotiation" of power and tradition via action and representation (see Brumfiel 1994, 1997; Giddens 1979; Kertzer 1988; Lears 1985).

Elsewhere, Thomas Emerson and I (Pauketat and Emerson 1999) have suggested that certain Mississippian communities may have their origins in the "promotions" of traditional communities, to borrow a key word from Kent Flannery (1972). The promotion of community through the selection of various integrative symbols, for whatever reasons, effectively altered in degree if not substance the traditional form of community culture and community action. In effect, certain elements of tradition – whether understood as such or not – were "politicized" as they entered the realm of negotiation, which is to say a kind of discourse within or between groups in which a collective order was continuously generated. These elements of tradition were symbols by virtue of the fact that all are ascribed meanings by people. Moreover, all objective phenomena, be they portable things, speech events, or features of the landscape, are meaningful in this sense. As often as not, such meanings are not consciously recognized as the arbitrary and culturally relative phenomena that they are. They may seem natural, true, and unchanging to the people living with those meanings, but symbols are dynamic. When they enter the realm of negotiation, where the objective reality of people's lives are evaluated in the terms of accepted arrays of symbols – i.e. tradition – the symbols themselves are politicized (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). Projected into objective negotiations, the associations, values, or forms of symbols cannot help but be altered, if only subtly (see

Sahlins 1985). Whatever served as the media of negotiation, ranging from parts of speech to gender representations to monumental constructions, was part of a process in which aspects of tradition had been politicized. Even if certain traditional meanings were left out of some negotiation, changes in other symbols tethered to them would alter the total matrix of symbols and necessarily skew the whole of tradition (see Levi-Strauss 1966: 20–1).

In the empirical material that follows, I infer that the parameters of pre-Mississippian domestic life were altered as populations were Mississippianized. This was a process that transformed identity and social action such that the domestic life of pre-Mississippian groups was not the same as later Mississippian domestic life. Neither were pre-Mississippian communities isomorphic with Mississippian communities. The antithesis of pre-Mississippian "communalism," at least as others identify that, was Mississippian "communalism." One might legitimately say, if communalism were the sole criterion, that nothing changed. And, yet, everything did change from the pre-Mississippian era to Mississippian times.

The Central Mississippi Valley

The Central Mississippi Valley has been considered to be, either conceptually or historically, the "heartland" of the Mississippian emergence (see Smith 1984). At the same time, the archaeology of much of this valley has not yet answered critical questions about the pace and form of social change, particularly at the Late Woodland–Mississippian juncture (see O'Brien and Dunnell 1998). There is general agreement that the intensified production of a significant crop, maize, preceded things Mississippian by as much as a couple of centuries in some cases and followed them in others (see Lynott *et al.* 1986; Muller 1986: 220; Welch 1990: 219). Other than this, and despite the fact that it was the Central Mississippi Valley that gave us our taxonomic and ecological definitions of Mississippian culture, archaeologists there have only a vague understanding of how these "Middle" Mississippians actually emerged from their pre-Mississippian forebears (see Smith 1978c, 1984).

We can be fairly certain of some gross pan-valley generalizations.[1] First, pre-Mississippian settlement patterns near the end of the first millennium AD in southeast Missouri, northeast Arkansas, and western Kentucky and Tennessee are dominated by relatively small scattered sites called "hamlets" or "small villages," each covering from less than 1 ha to up to 15 ha and sometimes clustered around a larger site (Kreisa 1987: 85; Morse and Morse 1990a: 165). Dan Morse and Phyllis Morse (1990a: 165) also identify "single-structure sites" as present during the "Big Lake Phase," which they date to AD 800–1000, but it is not entirely clear how many of these "farmsteads" there really were and exactly when in the sequence they might date (cf. Mainfort 1996: 84ff.).

Some of the larger sites are what seem to be local pre-Mississippian "centers," or large villages with one or more earthen mounds (Lewis 1996b: 64; Mainfort 1996: 83; Morse and Morse 1990a: 159ff.). An especially large example of just such a center, with up to fifty-four earthen mounds and a palimpsest of residential areas, is the Hoecake site in the Cairo Lowlands of Missouri (see Williams 1974; Williams 1954). Much of this site, at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, dates to the period just before and after AD 1000 (Williams 1974: 55; see also Lewis 1996b: 67; Morse and Morse 1990a: 165). How many, if any, of the mounds date to the AD 1000 horizon is unknown, as at least one of them covers what may be an earlier tomb (Marshall 1964). Likewise, the administrative, social, or religious purposes served by such a site, if any, remain unknown. Perhaps the Hoecake site is a northern variant of mound-and-plaza complexes to the south (see p. 25). The nearest such complex, the Toltec site in the central Arkansas River valley, seems to have been the socio-religious center of the "Plum Bayou culture" between AD 700 and 950 (see Nassaney 1994; Rolingson 1982, 1990).

Besides mounds at the largest central sites, pre-Mississippian domestic settlements in the Central Mississippi Valley consisted of small to moderate sized aggregations of houses (Figure 2.2; Lewis 1996b; Mainfort 1996; Morse and Morse 1983, 1990a, 1990b). Eleven single-post domiciles were found in three modest excavation areas at the Hoecake site (the total extent of such residential occupation being unknown). The early "James Bayou" phase occupation of the Marshall site, in western Kentucky, was a contemporary "large village" that, among other things, saw the construction of single-post domiciles (Lewis 1996a: 128; see Sussenbach and Lewis 1987). Multiple single-post buildings, nine of an unknown total having been excavated, were situated around a possible courtyard with a central post pit at the Zebree site in northeast Arkansas. This site covered just over 1 ha, and may have been surrounded by a ditch. Morse and Morse (1990a: 165) think that the Kersey site, in southeast Missouri, may have been a comparable pre-Mississippian village, although the evidence for a circumferential ditch is tenuous (see Marshall 1965a, 1965b).

Other than settlement data, utilitarian pottery recovered from sites like Zebree, Kersey, Hoecake, and others is informative about the social landscape of the era. The pottery assemblages from this period are notable for their technological and morphological diversity. Cordmarked, incised, stamped, plain, and slipped jars, bowls, pans, bottles, and funnels are variously tempered with pulverized rock, crushed fired clay or sherds, and crushed mussel shell. Such variation coexisted within the central valley and often within individual settlements at this time, eventually giving way to a more homogeneous shell-tempered Mississippian ware after AD 1000 or so. No particular ware type or vessel form appears to have been regularly produced for special ritual uses or made under centralized conditions, in contrast to

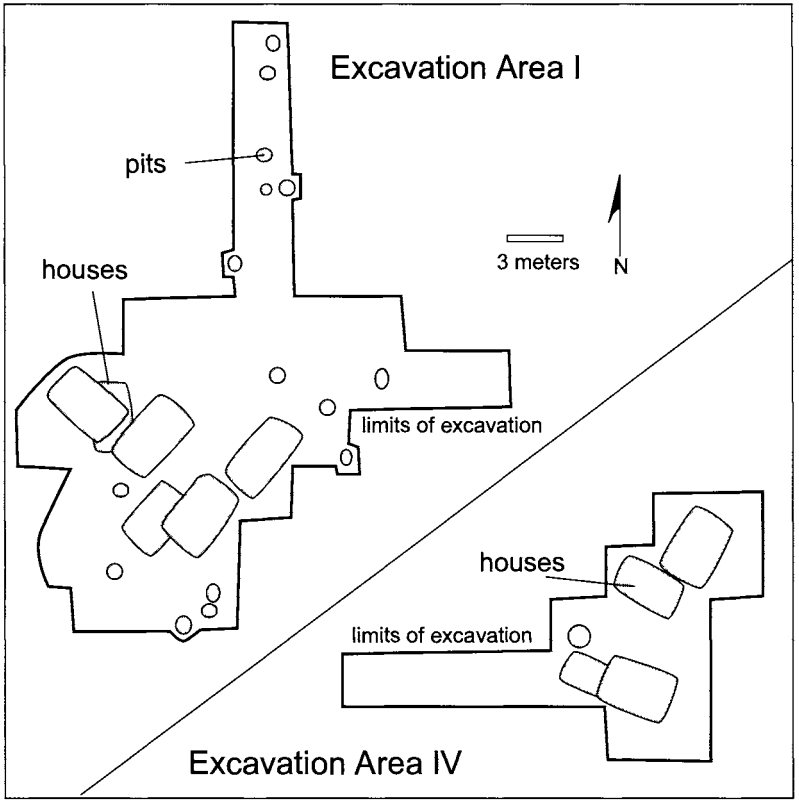

Figure 2.2 Excavated houses at the Hoecake Site, southeast Missouri (adapted from J.R. Williams 1974)

later Mississippian wares (Million 1980; Morse and Morse 1983, 1990b). Instead, this pre-Mississippian pottery was probably made for and by all potters and their families who were, given settlement and subsistence data, living the lives of minimally centralized, village agriculturalists.[2]

Central Mississippi Valley peoples before AD 1000 cooked their native-seed crops, squash, and, at some point, maize dishes in homemade containers. This is especially important in relation to the technological diversity noted above. In the context of domestic production, technological and morphological ceramic diversity within and between settlements may point to considerable social interaction between unlike communities – whatever those were – and to a similar degree of social diversity within some communities. Although definitive ceramic-technological studies remain to be pursued, the existence of a kind of stylistic hybridization at the level of daily domestic life is a plausible inference given the pottery evidence from

different portions of the valley (Cogswell and O'Brien 1998; Mainfort 1996). Whatever accounts for the pottery assemblage diversity, we can be fairly certain that "community" in the tenth and eleventh centuries AD was neither static nor bound by the limits of individual settlements.

We can be even more certain that the domestic-level technologies and minimally centralized and dynamic social conditions of the pre-Mississippian period in the Central Mississippi Valley contrast with the later Mississippian period. Indeed, by the twelfth century, there were both local administrative centers with platform mounds and single-household farmsteads dispersed around the centers in various parts of the Central Mississippi Valley (see Lewis 1996a; Morse and Morse 1983; Smith 1978c). Presumably, these centers were the seats of government for small to moderate sized "chiefdoms" (Smith 1978c). These included sites like Obion in Tennessee (Garland 1992); Turk, Wickliffe, Adams, and Jonathan Creek in Kentucky (Lewis 1990); and Lilbourn, Crosno, and Beckwith's Fort in Missouri (Chapman 1980; Williams 1954).

At these sites, many residential buildings were arranged around mounds and large open plazas. More common than not, domiciles were built according to a new Mississippian norm with whole walls placed in wall trenches rather than posts set in individual postholes. Equally important, standardized forms dominate the broken remains of pots, and certain types now feature iconographic referents (see Galloway 1989). Various decorated and finely made vessels, with pastes that can be distinguished from those of utilitarian wares, seem to have been produced for limited non-utilitarian purposes, perhaps by a few potters (Steponaitis 1983). Some types of containers, it seems, were made for special public rites (e.g. Hilgeman 1991).

While certain pottery vessels tell of collective rites, the remains of individual houses and domestic activities betray signs of domestic self-sufficiency and what Rogers (1995b: 95) calls the "compartmentalization of social groups." The many burned domiciles from Mississippian sites in southeast Missouri reveal full complements of domestic tools and utensils inside of buildings (Price and Griffin 1979; Rope 1977; see also Pauketat 1987b). Those living or storing in such buildings may have been relatively self-contained work groups (Rogers 1995b: 95). Likewise, single-household farmsteads give ample evidence in the remains of food, pots, and other tools to demonstrate that they were, in Bruce Smith's (1978b: 198) words, "trophically independent." Smith (1995: 243) observes that dispersed farmsteads would usually have been parts of larger "communities" associated with "mound centers" (Figure 2.3). "Outlying families would have visited with their immediate relatives and participated in various village-centered ceremonies, feasts, and other scheduled activities of social integration throughout the annual cycle" (Smith 1995: 243). The homogenized ceramic wares, architectural style, and, perhaps, domestic practices indicate a conformity to some collective order presumably articulated by large Mississippian centers.

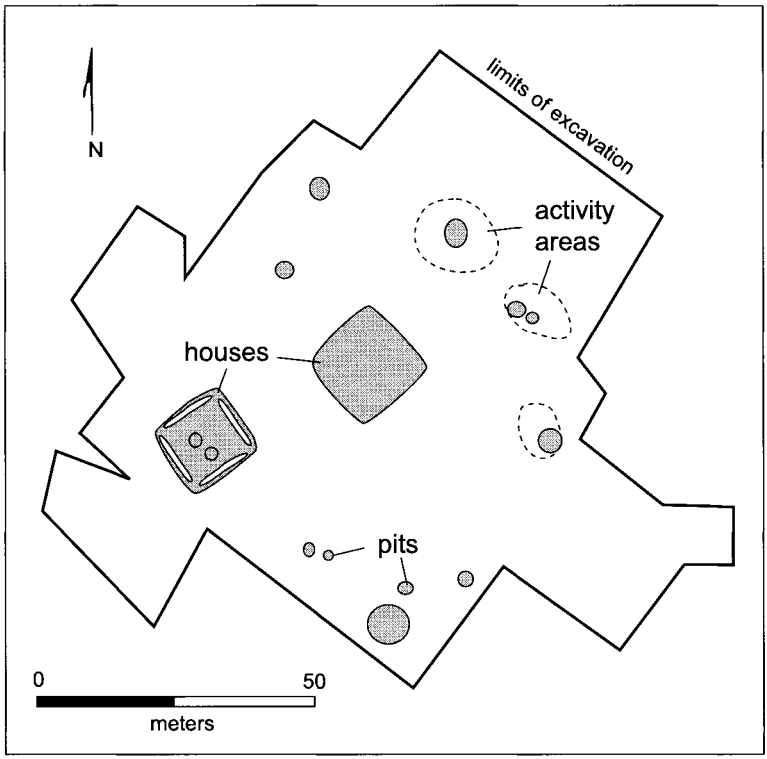

Figure 2.3 Excavated farmstead at the Gypsy Joint Site, southeast Missouri (adapted from Smith 1978b)

The Yazoo Basin

Less is known about the village sites of the pre-Mississippian "Coles Creek" period in the Lower Mississippi Valley. While considerable regional variation exists within this period, AD 700–1100, from the Arkansas River to the Gulf of Mexico, there are commonalities of artifact style and settlement patterns (Phillips *et al.* 1951; Phillips 1970; Williams and Brain 1983). Until the twelfth century AD in parts of the lower valley, settlements seem to have ranged from small to moderate-sized aggregations of people subsisting in part on native cultigens, nuts, and wild game, with little to no maize (Fritz and Kidder 1993; Kidder 1992; but see McNutt 1996: 177). The smallest sites probably consisted of no more than a few domiciles and were likely occupied seasonally. The largest settlements, including the Winterville and Lake George sites in the Yazoo Basin, were ritual or administrative centers with two or three platform mounds and oval "plazas" (Belmont 1982; Brain 1989; Kidder 1992; Phillips *et al.* 1951; Rolingson 1982; Williams and Brain 1983).

At these and other Coles Creek centers, definitive evidence of a hereditary chiefship or social stratification is weak to absent. Rather, the communal fabric of these incipient centralized societies follows a long Gulf Coast tradition (Kidder 1992; Nassaney 1992; cf. Steponaitis 1986). Unlike the ceramic wares of the Central Mississippi Valley, the Coles Creek pottery tradition seems stagnant, a carryover from Middle Woodland Marksville times, without the heterogeneous mix of pastes, surface treatments, or forms. Partly for this reason, Coles Creek people have been characterized as communal, parochial, and even "lacking in the flair of Emergent Mississippian elsewhere" (Kidder 1992: 147).

What followed in the lower Yazoo Basin at about AD 1200, however, seems a departure from this tradition. During the "Winterville phase," Stephen Williams and Jeffrey Brain note an "increased emphasis on mound construction," altered central-site layouts, and a population nucleation.

> [Many] multimound sites were constructed over brief periods of time in massive public works projects. Sites like Winterville and Lake George boast more than two dozen mounds each. . . . [T]hick mantles were added to the extant structures and new mounds were built from scratch. . . . At both Winterville and Lake George, brand new plazas were constructed [adjacent to the largest mounds].
>
> (Williams and Brain 1983: 413; see also Brain 1989)

The simple but significant implication is that, over a brief span of time, social relations in the Yazoo Basin were dramatically altered (Figure 2.4).

As in the Central Mississippi Valley, the dramatic shifts of the Winterville phase were in some way tethered to Greater Cahokia far to the north (Brain 1989, 1991; Williams and Brain 1983), if only in terms of goods exchange or symbolic emulation (see Pauketat and Emerson 1997b: 276). Unlike the central valley or Greater Cahokia (see p. 27), there is little information about concurrent changes in the social landscape outside of the large central sites. We do not know if dispersed farmsteads or scattered hamlets and villages characterize the floodplain outside of Winterville, Lake George, or various other "Plaquemine" Mississippian centers (see Phillips *et al.* 1951).

Only in the magnitude of public works can we infer that the community labor appropriated for central undertakings was either more highly coordinated or substantially increased relative to Coles Creek times. In this way, the Winterville phase in the Yazoo Basin is analogous to the well-documented eleventh-century Cahokia-Mississippian transformation in the American Bottom. In the latter case, community transformation may be precisely gauged owing to the many extensively excavated sites (see Bareis and Porter 1984; Emerson 1991; Kelly 1990b; Milner 1990; Pauketat 1994, 1998b; Pauketat and Emerson 1997a).

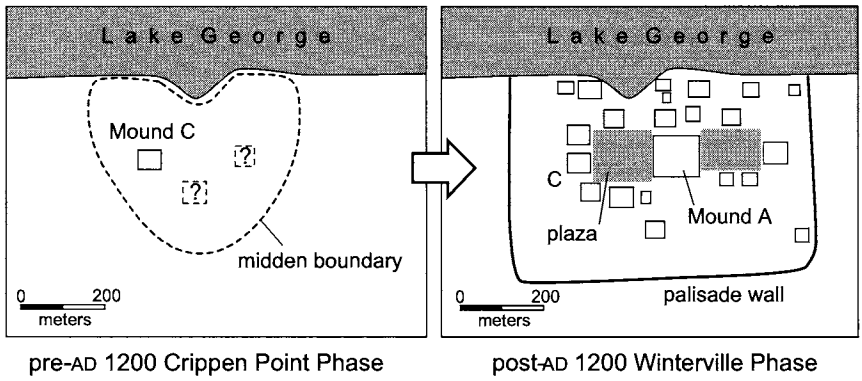

Figure 2.4 The Crippen Point–Winterville Phase transformation of the Lake George Site, west-central Mississippi (adapted from Williams and Brain 1983)

Greater Cahokia

Agricultural settlements ranging from a few domiciles to scores of houses characterized the so-called "Emergent Mississippian" period (calibrated to AD 900–1050) in the stretch of floodplain called the American Bottom (Figure 2.1). At these settlements, and based on a series of excavated village remains, single-post domestic dwellings like those excavated in the Central Mississippi Valley were clustered together (Kelly 1990a). Houses in these clusters were arranged around small open courtyards or, in some cases, were situated relative to other features of the social or natural landscape (see Emerson and Jackson 1984; McElrath and Finney 1987). Some small villages consisted of a single courtyard with a central post surrounded by houses. Large villages, evinced in the excavated pre-Mississippian portions of the Range and Cahokia sites, consisted of multiple flanking courtyard groups (Kelly 1990b; Pauketat 1994). These courtyards were locations of communal activities of a sort, indicated at the Range site as early as AD 600 by the presence of smoking pipes, gaming stones or *chunkeys*, and the occasional "public" building (Kelly 1990b: 79ff.). The domiciles around these courtyards were built in a traditional style and, given a dearth of interior furniture and debris, were used primarily for sleeping and storage.

The largest "villages" probably consisted of many flanking courtyards, probably with public buildings atop platform mounds, as at the Pulcher, Morrison, and Cahokia sites (Kelly 1990a; Pauketat 1994; Pauketat *et al.* 1998). These village-center remains, like those in the Central Mississippi Valley, indicate only locally centralized populations before *c.* AD 1050. Other evidence, notably pottery, indicates that these conditions of local centralization went hand in hand with the same sort of pottery manufacture-and-use diversity as seen in the Central Mississippi Valley.

Pottery evidence betrays considerable intra-settlement and inter-settlement heterogeneity, particularly during the few decades prior to AD 1050 (Pauketat 1998b: 47–8; e.g. Emerson and Jackson 1984). Sufficient technological and morphological research on these ceramic assemblages has been performed to reveal that there were several raw material sources, paste recipes, surface treatments, and vessel forms that combined to produce a variety of modalities (see Emerson and Jackson 1984; Kelly 1980; Pauketat 1996; Porter 1984). Over the course of about a century, these modalities seem to have changed via drift and hybridization, perhaps as a result of emulation or social learning. Hybrid forms are readily apparent, and lag with distance from the pre-Mississippian centers is likely (Pauketat 1998b: 69–70). Shell-tempered pottery, including local versions of central-valley (Varney) vessels, seems more abundant at and around Cahokia, and I have elsewhere suggested that this may indicate that non-local potters, perhaps from the Central Mississippi Valley, immigrated to this emerging cultural dynamo (Pauketat 1998b: 48). In any case, all of this evidence minimally suggests a high rate of interaction within and between localities in and around the American Bottom.

In AD 1050, Cahokia – formerly the largest pre-Mississippian settlement – experienced a rapid transformation into a hypercentralized capital (Pauketat 1997a, 1998b). During the few decades of the "Lohmann phase," the Cahokia site's population increased five to ten times its pre-Mississippian size, the new residents now building wall-trench houses invariably oriented according to some unseen site-wide grid (see Collins 1997). Scores of mounds and giant plazas were under construction. Residents manufactured a variety of craft goods from exotic raw materials, and novel iconographic, weapon, and tool forms appeared. There is direct evidence in the form of thick, stratified beds of ritual refuse that the tremendous undertakings of the Lohmann phase were accomplished via large-scale public rites (Pauketat 1998b: 60). Foods and medicines were cooked and dispersed, presumably along with a new and distinctly Cahokian "communal" ethos (Emerson 1989, 1997b; Pauketat and Emerson 1991, 1999). Like the Central Mississippi Valley, a direct consequence of such ritual aggregation-and-dispersion was the homogenization of the pottery wares used to cook, present, and transport the consumables. As in the downriver cases, there was a clear and rapid trend toward the production of standardized dishwares, most often tempered with crushed mussel shell.

Also beginning in AD 1050, and of critical importance to an archaeology of community, was the dispersal of rural farmsteads radiating out from the Cahokian political capital and other lesser administrative centers (Emerson 1997a, 1997c). The pattern is unambiguous: in the floodplain around Cahokia, the village aggregations and village courtyards of the pre-Mississippian period were replaced around AD 1050 with dispersed farmsteads, many of which seem to have been grouped near larger centers

with platform mounds and all, in turn, clustered around Cahokia. The dispersal of farmsteads around Cahokia was an abrupt development that seems to fall between the cracks of the current phase chronology. In the sense that key subgroups of the population must have acted to effect this dramatic social change, it was centrifugal, presumably "organized from the mound center" and not "scaled up from the household" (contra Muller 1997: 192).

There are plenty of regions where the Mississippian farmstead-and-town pattern exists (Emerson 1997c: 172). There are also regions, such as the Illinois River valley, where farmsteads exist in the apparent absence of mound centers. Finally, there are regions where so-called "farmsteads" consist of multi-family occupations, unlike those discussed here (e.g. Blitz 1993: 59–68). The salient feature of all of these other regions, however, is the relative homogeneity of the domestic lives of farmers. The Greater Cahokian case of the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD is different by virtue of the presence of "nodal" farmsteads alongside ordinary ones. Emerson (1997a: 250), in fact, identifies a "sequential" articulation of farmsteads during that time. These farmsteads seem to be unique in the Mississippian world as currently understood (see also Smith 1995). The nodal farmsteads of the American Bottom were occupied by people with access to key elements of Cahokian material symbolism, both the portable objects and raw materials that are otherwise found in their highest densities at Cahokia proper (Pauketat 1998b: Fig. 6). The nodal farmsteads are also associated with an "architecture of power" – circular sweat lodges or public buildings – first constructed at Cahokia (Emerson 1997a: 31ff.; 1997c: 171). Importantly, the nodal farmsteads of Greater Cahokia existed only during Cahokia's political and religious maximum, the Lohmann and Stirling phases (Emerson 1997a, 1997c).[3] Subsequent to the downsizing of Cahokia's political economy (after AD 1200), the nodal farmsteads disappeared.

Beyond this inner district of nodal and ordinary farmsteads, and outside the floodplain of the northern American Bottom proper, are a series of larger multiple-house settlements, especially evident in an upland area 10–30 km southeast of Cahokia that I have tentatively dubbed the "Richland Complex" (Pauketat 1998b). These Lohmann and Stirling phase agricultural villages ranged in population size from a few occupants to upwards of 200 to 300 people. Most importantly, these Mississippian-period settlements appear, in some ways, pre-Mississippian in character.

Prior to AD 1050, settlements in the northern American Bottom, including the then modest pre-Mississippian Cahokia site, were typified by aggregations of houses around open courtyards, each of which had central pits or posts and associated smoking pipes and chunkey stones (see Kelly 1990a, 1990b). At Cahokia, around AD 1050, the small, pre-Mississippian-style courtyards with their modest central pits or posts, were replaced with new and substantially enlarged plazas with one or more massive central

posts (Holley *et al.* 1993; Pauketat 1994, 1998a). Exotic artifacts and group-ritual objects, such as chunkey stones and smoking pipes, are found in higher densities or in restricted contexts at this time (e.g. DeBoer 1993; Fowler 1991; Pauketat 1998b). Exotic items in slightly reduced numbers are found at nodal farmstead sites, but pre-Mississippian-style courtyard groups with their central posts, associated chunkey stones, and (perhaps) smoking pipes are uniformly missing at the dispersed farmsteads within a 10–15 km radius of Cahokia (DeBoer 1993; Pauketat 1997a, 1998b).

Only in the Richland Complex immediately southeast of Cahokia were the traditional courtyard groups, pipes, and chunkey stones (and village cemeteries) associated with domestic settlements *after* AD 1050 (Pauketat 1998b: 55). These settlements are still within a day's walk of Cahokia, but their residents had less access to Cahokia's finery than floodplain farmers despite the fact that greater agricultural expectations were seemingly placed upon them (Pauketat 1998b: 68). If courtyards, posts, pipes, and chunkey stones defined community in a traditional sense, then the rural farmsteads near Cahokia that lacked these things were not communities, except as articulated through Mississippian centers. The Richland villagers were the real rural "community" affiliated with Cahokia, while the inner ring of farmsteads with their nodal relatives and affines may be more properly viewed as an extension of the Mississippian centers (Figure 2.5).

The demise of pre-Mississippian courtyards (if not communities) at and near Cahokia, then, heralds an emergence of individual houses as units of settlement. Houses were segregated by size and form on at least one of Cahokia's residential tracts (Pauketat 1994). The small house mode on this particular residential tract is comparable to the ordinary houses built at dispersed farmsteads. These farmsteads and the individual "household clusters" at Cahokia emphasize the social importance of the house site (after Winter 1976). Like Mississippian houses in the Central Mississippi Valley, the interior spaces of these domiciles were sometimes used for discrete activities, a pattern unlike the small, clean-floored, pre-Mississippian dwellings (Pauketat 1987a; Pauketat and Woods 1986). Subterranean storage was moved indoors during the subsequent twelfth and early thirteenth centuries AD both at Cahokia and at outlying farmsteads, again signaling that the household had emerged as a socioeconomic unit (see Collins 1997; Mehrer 1995; Mehrer and Collins 1995; Milner *et al.* 1984). By AD 1200, relatively homogeneous households seem to have been living on the same house plots and rebuilding their houses for many years in a row (Pauketat 1994: 180; 1998b). These later clusters tend not to conform to the rigid orientation standards of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries AD, mentioned above (Collins 1997). This freedom of orientation, finally, seems one signal of the beginning of the end of the earlier Cahokia-centric community identity (Pauketat 1998b: 71).

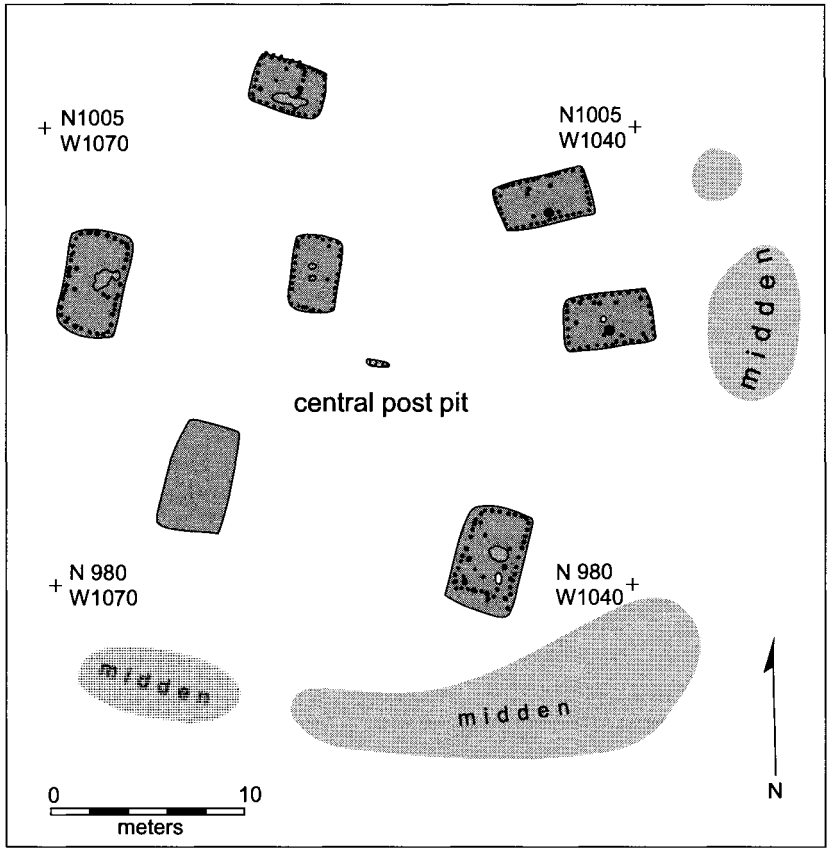

Figure 2.5 Excavated courtyard cluster at the Halliday Site, Richland Complex, southwest Illinois

Locating politicization in the Mississippi valley

The early Cahokian centrifugal patterns, the signatures of abrupt social change there and in the Yazoo Basin, and the dispersal of farmsteads from antecedent villages in various parts of the Mississippi valley are key pieces of the argument against dissociating political from communal spheres. Based on the archaeological evidence, we know that the pre-Mississippian communities of the Central Mississippi Valley, the Yazoo Basin, and the American Bottom were incorporated within larger-scale entities. But how did this happen?

The archaeological evidence from the three portions of the Mississippi valley reviewed above point to a series of commonalities and a few divergences. The commonalities include broadly similar pre-Mississippian social

conditions that can be summed up as minimally centralized, with production and social interaction only locally articulated through modest "centers" or large villages. For instance, the production of domestic pottery wares and presumably that of other tools, utensils, and foodstuffs was probably not centrally coordinated to any significant extent. This is the case despite ceramic hints from the Central Mississippi Valley and the American Bottom that pre-Mississippian social interaction and stylistic hybridization was extensive and ongoing. The same cannot be said of the Coles Creek area, where little more than the impressive earthen pyramids and expansive courtyards exist to argue for supra-settlement social interaction.

Small, pre-Mississippian kin groups probably built the houses with posts set in individual postholes. Once built, very few daytime activities occurred inside. Cooking, eating, and other domestic routines were performed outside. The fact that these small buildings were clustered in small to moderate-sized villages or hamlets may indicate that domestic activities were not articulated by households as much as by house-cluster groups. That is, domestic tasks were not strictly associated with the people living in a domicile. The evidence of courtyards with central posts, pits, and ritual paraphernalia, then, may be further testimony that domestic life corresponded with supra-household social actions and representations.

Continuing with the commonalities, portions of the Mississippi valley experienced similarly abrupt Mississippianizations. Cahokia's Lohmann phase and the Yazoo's Winterville phase saw dramatic public constructions that speak of the highly coordinated deployment of labor. At the same time, the pattern of dispersed farmsteads around mound centers was a defining characteristic of Mississippian times in the central valley as it was in the American Bottom. This settlement expression of nucleation-and-dispersal seems to have a ceramic counterpart in both areas. The pre-Mississippian ceramic techno-morphological diversity and hybridization gave way to certain standardized and symbolically charged Mississippian wares probably made for central ritual events or personages.[4]

Of course, the Mississippian communities in the Greater Cahokia region, the Central Mississippi Valley, and the Yazoo Basin probably owe their commonalities in part to their inter-connected histories. Cahokia had some sort of influence on the people downriver, although the exact nature and extent is uncertain (see Anderson 1997). Then again, one could also argue that contact with Greater Cahokia altered the developmental trajectories of those places such that the people there could not experience social conditions anything like Cahokia itself (see Anderson 1997; Pauketat 1998b; Steponaitis 1991). The farmstead heterarchy identified by Emerson (1997a, 1997c), for instance, seems unparalleled in the rest of the Mississippian world. As Smith (1995) has noted, there is no reason to believe that all dispersed farmsteads were articulated with mound centers. Thus, there is no reason to think that all farmsteads in every Mississippian

region resulted from the kind of hypercentralized political negotiations that defined Greater Cahokia.

The process of politicization, in fact, does not presuppose developmental uniformity. Many different outcomes could be envisioned that might still be explained with recourse to this general political-cultural process. The ultimate reason why politicization happened in any particular part of the Mississippi valley is far beyond the scope of this paper. I do contend, however, that part of the explanation lies in answering the proximate question of how community itself was appropriated by polity. Given the evidence from the Mississippi valley, we may at least discern the outline of the social process by which people were caught up in Mississippianization.

First, it is instructive to note that many of the early Mississippian symbols – platform mounds, plazas, central posts, chunkey stones, pipes, etc. – are not in and of themselves Mississippian novelties (Knight 1997: 230–2). What really changed from pre-Mississippian to Mississippian times was the overall array of symbols articulated by central personages at central sites. This may have been an insidious process, many changes going unrecognized or misunderstood. Perhaps the parts of tradition that fit with certain interests were supported by people who nonetheless did recognize that they were accommodating other changes less to their liking (see Pauketat 1994, 1997a). Around Cahokia, the process of Mississippianization involved the production of "local symbols" and the co-opting of communal representations (Emerson 1997a, 1997b; Pauketat 1997a, 1997b; Pauketat and Emerson 1999). These were symbols with interrelated, multivocalic, and likely nondiscursive (unconscious) meanings that defined the cosmos, kinship, gender, and the domestic rhythms of everyday life (see Emerson 1997b). For instance, as politicized, daily cooking tasks using pots became, in part, something that involved certain pots with restricted meanings for certain contexts of use. Playing a group game, chunkey, became an act that necessarily invoked a region-wide field of power–tradition negotiations (DeBoer 1993). Building houses, using houses, and locating houses next to kin or neighbors became linked with concerns for emulating a certain style, revealing or hiding activities, and aligning one's house relative to the expectations of others. It is even possible that work groups other than the traditional domestic group built Cahokia's first wall-trench houses (Pauketat 1994: 172). Certainly, standing architecture is as potent a statement in any field of social negotiation as cooking and gaming. In this respect, the entire ritual grounds of Mississippian centers themselves were constructions and reconstructions of community as meaning and identity, like contemporary analogs in Oklahoma, with the other material symbols and meaningful practices simply being parts of this whole (Pauketat 1997a; see Bell 1990; Howard 1968).

That is, besides being capitals of chiefdoms, Mississippian towns-with-mounds were, in their construction and use, centers of the production of

a larger-scale political-communal order. As perhaps revealed in the pre-Mississippian pottery remains and the central products of Mississippiandom, these communities were "transactional" if still kin-based in character (see Wolf 1982: 97–8). They were probably open and inclusive in some ways, but closed and exclusive in others (Pauketat 1994: 31). Certainly, they were defined in large measure by unifying symbols, from the iconography on pots to the monumental mounds and plazas of central towns. In fact, the large-scale political changes that defined the beginning of the Mississippian period may have been possible only where polity co-opted community, making the latter a regional phenomenon, not a site-based one. The Mississippi valley data may even support the inference that abrupt centralization, as in the American Bottom and the Yazoo cases, was itself a consequence of the promotion of community (and not vice versa).

Emphasizing politicization and community promotion in explanations of Mississippianization fits nicely with Rogers's (1995b) use of "compartmentalization" (inspired by Susan Kent's [1984, 1990] household studies). "The compartmentalization of social groups is part of the same process that in many societies is reflected by increasingly monofunctional activity areas and implement categories – the specialization of space and tools" (Rogers 1995b: 95). He proposes that the increased complexity and "segmentation" of society explains the demise of larger domestic-communal entities and the emergence of single-household settlements (Rogers 1995b: 95). I agree, adding that the dissolution of traditional communal entities, ones that "would have provided the spatial setting for the reproduction of traditional . . . ideologies," may have been quite actively negotiated within and between groups (Pauketat 1994: 180–1). Negotiation, in the terms that I have used it, is constrained by antecedent traditions and is contingent upon the social actions of people who politicize and promote their understanding of "community."

In early Mississippian times, negotiation need not have been something that occurred once and was resolved via the dispersal of farmsteads and the nucleation at mound centers. Nucleation and dispersal, even as abrupt as the American Bottom and Yazoo cases, were probably only components of a drawn-out diachronic negotiation of power and tradition. It is plausible that the replacement of a pre-Mississippian settlement landscape, visible at the village level, was a conscious political tactic of certain interest groups. However, given our present database, the creation of households as socio-economic units just as likely may have been a *de facto* product of the promotion of community or, in other words, of the selective amplification (and politicization) of certain communal meanings. The promotion of community was at the same time social compartmentalization, as the location of central communal spaces and ritual gatherings would have been restricted. Traditional "community" itself was probably not eliminated. Instead, it was co-opted so that the actions and representations of community were

moved to centers. What was left in the rest of the floodplain were people without community. They were trophically autonomous, but socially attached to centers (contra Mehrer 1995: 165). Trophic autonomy might even have been encouraged by central Mississippian politicos (see Wright 1984), resulting in the perfect example of what Sahlins (1985) calls "hierarchical solidarity."

Doubtless, domestic groups could less readily mobilize resistance to Mississippian political communities where the mode of social action was tethered to those very communities (Pauketat forthcoming). By relocating the dynamic of social change within community itself, the error of the building-block approach seems obvious. From its vantage point, we risk overlooking the very mechanisms by which the top block – the regional order – was added. We simply have not asked the right questions – "What changed?" and "How did change occur?" – at the appropriate scales of analysis. Understanding community as part of an identity-formation process at local and regional scales is a critical step to take if we seek to explain (without teleology) the rise of social hierarchies, regional polities, and tributary economies. It is only when we understand community in all of its spatial and cultural dimensions that we can begin to measure the mechanisms whereby the weakly centralized kin-based peoples of the pre-Mississippian era were transformed into the centralized kin-based Mississippian polities of the eleventh century and later. Therefore this makes a theory of community a central concern of archaeology, and one that we, like the Mississippians, should actively promote.

Notes

1 The problem with pan-valley generalizations is that there are several competing regional chronologies constructed in different ways, such that our ability to observe rates of social change and possible occupational hiatuses is impeded (see Wesler 1991 for an attempt to correct such problems). These chronologies have been related by some to the independent chronology of the Greater Cahokia region, but that chronology has undergone recent revision (see Pauketat 1998b). There are shared horizon markers in the Cahokia and central-valley sequences (after all, at their closest point these regions are only 200 km apart), and it seems unlikely that Cahokian horizon markers would date to earlier centuries downriver than at Cahokia proper, given what we now know about their production at Cahokia (e.g. Pauketat 1994). As a cursory note, the effects of Greater Cahokia on the Central Mississippi villagers is not completely understood. Technologies associated with Cahokia – Burlington-chert microliths, Cahokia-style arrowheads and chunkey stones, and distinctive shell-tempered pots – are found among sites of the Varney or "Red-Filmed" Horizon (Mainfort 1996: 85; Morse and Morse 1990a: 156), at the early Mississippian Obion center in Tennessee (Garland 1992), and into northern Mississippi (Johnson 1994) and the Arkansas River valley (House 1996: 146–7). In the central Arkansas valley and northwest Mississippi, this horizon is coeval with a very tentatively identified region-wide hiatus in occupation (Brain 1989: 116; House 1996: 151;

see also Anderson 1997: 257–8). In light of the possibility of dramatic voids in these regional landscapes coeval with early Cahokia's expansion, and in light of the tremendous diversity of contemporary pottery ware types in the Central Mississippi Valley, we could tentatively identify parts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD as a period of incredible change that our chronologies have simply glossed over by virtue of the currently employed two-century-long phases.

2 Here I do not mean to convey that these unstratified agriculturalists represent some intermediate stage in a gradualist, evolutionary sense. The history of the entire region, if not each individual settlement, is probably much more complex and contingent on many local factors, if not on supraregional factors like the rise of Cahokia to the north.

3 There were later farmsteads to be sure, but none of these post-Stirling phase farmsteads betray the telltale signs of the earlier sequential articulation. Given this diachronic pattern, the case for Lohmann and Stirling phase rural political and social autonomy seems exceedingly weak (contra Mehrer 1995). Rather, such autonomy should reign after the demise of Cahokia when, not incidentally, there are no archaeological signatures of nodal farmsteads. The farmers' possession of Cahokia's material symbolism and their adoption of Cahokia's "architecture of power," especially as they lived within 10–15 km of Cahokia itself, reveals these farmers' attachment to (not detachment from) Cahokia. Rural autonomy in this case must surely be restricted to the ability of the farmers to feed themselves (see Kelly and Cross 1984).

4 A Muskogean analogy is pertinent here: "Chiefs of all the towns forming any particular clan met prior to the green corn season, to give orders for the manufacture of pottery vessels for the medicines" (Witthoft 1949: 63).

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3

HETERARCHY AND HIERARCHY

The community plan as institution in Cahokia's polity

Mark W. Mehrer

Introduction

Cahokia's polity was a late prehistoric complex chiefdom centered in the American Bottom, the broad floodplain of the Mississippi River at its confluence with the Missouri and Illinois rivers (see Figure 2.1). The polity was preceded by several centuries of gradually increasing sociopolitical centralization during AD 600–1000 before it flourished and declined during roughly AD 1000–1400. It was part of the widespread Mississippian tradition known throughout the southeastern U.S. in which surplus subsistence commodities fueled a hierarchy of presumably inherited social distinctions, craft specialists, long distance trade, prestige networks, and many of the other trappings of simple and complex chiefdoms. This paper, however, focuses on the lowest social levels of Cahokia's polity, those which constituted the majority of the region's population. The domestic groups and local communities of these people created most of the Cahokia region's archaeological record.

In the American Bottom, household organization and community layouts reflect gradual developmental changes in the social order of the region during the 400 years leading up to Mississippian times (Kelly 1990a, 1990b). This development is followed by an abrupt transition to a complex, bimodal settlement hierarchy during Mississippian times (Mehrer 1995). The changing importance of communal and private spaces in the region's households and community layouts powerfully indicates changes in the social dynamics of the lowest social orders. These changes are important for two related reasons. They not only indicate pervasive social change throughout the region, but also show that the resulting social fabric was not a simple hierarchy of ranked social relationships extending downward from the regional paramount to the local family leader. The centralizing, "urban"

domain of the regional elites and their minions is represented by nucleated communities with pre-planned community layouts in the form of town-and-mound centers expressing the social hierarchy of the elites and their controlling effect on town life. However, the decentralized, "rural" domain is represented by vernacular households scattered in dispersed communities with only a moderate social hierarchy of ranking.

I use two concepts in this paper to better understand Mississippian communities: the built environment and heterarchy. Patterned layouts in the size, shape, and proximity among houses, pits, courtyards, and other elements of the built environment can be understood as generalized expressions of the prevailing social order (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Bourdier and AlSayyad 1989; Fuchs and Meyer-Brodnitz 1989; Jain 1980; MacEachern *et al.* 1989; Rapoport 1969, 1976, 1980; Sullivan 1989; Wilk 1988). A useful related notion is that the built environment also *acted* as a constant reinforcement of that social order, so that it was a powerful guiding metaphor, in prehistoric times, emphasizing the specific beliefs and behaviors that governed daily life (e.g. see Joyce and Hendon this volume). The archaeological record of the built environment is our main line of evidence for inferring the order of community life. The physical organization of household clusters of buildings and facilities (Flannery 1983; Flannery and Winter 1976; Winter 1976) and the layout of household clusters and other elements in the community plan are our clues to the ancient communities of individuals and families.

For the purposes of this paper, I use the time-honored definition of community as, "the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association" (Murdock 1949: 79–90). This definition meets our anthropological expectations that

> community organization provides individuals with increased opportunities for gratification through social intercourse, with more abundant sustenance through cooperative food-getting techniques, and with insurance against temporary incapacity or adversity through mutual aid and sharing. To these advantages may be added protection through numbers and the economies possible with specialization and a division of labor
>
> (Murdock 1949: 80)

This definition readily accommodates the Mississippian communities whose built environment has become for us the Mississippian settlement pattern.

> With more or less settled residence, the community may assume the form either of a *village*, occupying a concentrated cluster of dwellings near the center of the exploited territory, or of a *neighborhood*, with its families scattered in semi-isolated homesteads.
>
> (Murdock 1949: 80)

Similarly, the notion of community extends to large settlements but in an unexpected way: "large urban aggregations of population tend to become segmented, when geographical mobility is not excessive, into local districts or wards which possess the outstanding characteristics of communities" (Murdock 1949: 81).

In terms of heterarchy, there are several definitions that anthropologists apply (Adams 1975, 1977, 1988; Ehrenreich *et al.* 1995). For this analysis, there are two facets that will be emphasized: first, that "Heterarchy may be defined as the relation of elements to one another when they . . . possess the potential for being *ranked in a number of different ways*" (Crumley 1995: 3; emphasis added); and second, that "forms of order exist that are not exclusively hierarchical and that interactive elements in complex systems need not be permanently [or simply] ranked relative to one another" (Crumley 1995: 3). These notions apply to the power and flexibility of relationships relating to Cahokia's lowest social order – the scattered farm families and their dispersed communities in the countryside. The notion of heterarchy allows us to rank social elements in a multiplicity of ways depending on their contexts, freeing us to consider life at the community level and to view the regional system with its complex interplay of power relations from the bottom-up rather than simply as unilineal hierarchy from the top-down.

Background

The built environment of Cahokia's Mississippian-period countryside communities is best understood, in terms of its relationship to social organization and community life, when it is considered in contrast to its predecessors, the ancestral Late Woodland and Emergent Mississippian communal hut compounds and villages of AD 600–1000. The best examples of these early settlements in the American Bottom are from the thoroughly excavated and analyzed multi-component Range site (Kelly 1992; Kelly *et al.* 1984; Kelly *et al.* 1987; Kelly *et al.* 1990). Even though the first documented nucleated settlement in the American Bottom is Late Woodland in age (Kelly 1990b), the long-term trends are best illustrated during the following Emergent Mississippian sequence (Kelly 1990a, 1990b).

Emergent Mississippian

As demonstrated at the Range site, the general pattern of Emergent Mississippian community layout is a ring of huts surrounding a courtyard (Kelly 1990b). The courtyard is almost always marked at its center by a set of four equally spaced storage pits or by a large, presumably communal, non-residential building. A variety of pits also occupies this communal space. Furthermore, there are cases in which one hut among the residential huts is somewhat larger than the rest and faces an open area in the

courtyard – these huts are interpreted as the homes of local community leaders. Through the decades, the hut compounds at the Range site replaced one another in a sequence that demonstrates increasing population (more huts), increasing nucleation (more compactly arranged huts), increasingly well ordered compound community plans (rectilinear layouts), and more complex arrangements (multiple compounds aggregated into one village layout). These trends clearly indicate a growing communal identity among the increasing number of constituent families, revealing a sense of orderliness, a requirement for cooperation, and an adherence to a common set of ideals about house placement. The patterns suggest a sense of community that was not possible in pre-Late Woodland times when nucleated settlements did not exist. These kinds of community identities presumably expanded in scale as villages like the Range site grew in size, becoming larger and necessarily more complex through time. By the end of the Emergent Mississippian period (AD 1000), there were relatively complex village arrangements of several courtyard groups placed around a larger plaza (Kelly 1990a, 1990b).

Centralized storage pits strongly suggest a communal aspect of economic life for the members of the hut compounds and the later more complex villages. Apparently the members of a community, probably a kin-based group such as a lineage, pooled their produce, or maybe just some surplus, in a central facility for later use. In this sense, the community was the minimal unit of economic production. There are many ethnographic examples of hut-ring settlements like these occupied by kin groups and sometimes organized internally by kin ties and other social dimensions; for example the Tiv of Nigeria (Bohannan 1954), the Bororo of Brazil (Levi-Strauss 1975), and others in Ghana (Prussin 1969). The many similarly scaled communities throughout the American Bottom would have shared relationships of power in a coordinated (*sensu* Adams 1975) fashion by granting autonomy and rough equality to one another in matters of regional concern.

It is significant, however, that at some point in the growth of the Range site community, the simple circular and rectangular compound layouts became undesirable or insufficient as a spatially organizing scheme to accommodate larger populations and the more complex political order that they would have required to maintain community solidarity (Flannery 1972). A more complex arrangement was improvised that was a composite of several compounds oriented around a larger-scale plaza (Kelly 1990b). This new built environment would have accommodated the attainment of a higher degree of social centralization in a system that would have subsumed, yet still fostered the maintenance of the internal order of the smaller, presumably kin-based, single-compound units, which did not dissolve in the transformation. In that sense, the larger village was a complex of smaller communities centralized (*sensu* Adams 1975) under the guidance of some newly powerful authority.

It is also significant that these two centuries (AD 800–1000) of community growth were the times during which maize began to be produced in quantities far greater than in prior centuries. This abundant maize did not replace the ancient agricultural complex of native cultigens but was integrated into a system that continued to use native crops at roughly their previous levels (Fritz and Johannessen 1996; Johannessen 1984). The production of a storable surplus is clearly visible not only in the abundance of charred plant remains but in the architectural and community layouts of the settlements, specifically in the storage facilities themselves and the centralizing focus of the building placements. Sites like the Range site represent realized opportunities for enterprising individuals or families in these communities to assume a degree of leadership to help settle others' disputes and to coordinate the production, collection, and dispersal of surplus commodities at the local scale. Moreover, by the end of Emergent Mississippian times, the local leadership had managed to centralize the power relations of several hut compound communities and to settle them in a nucleated village. Flannery (1972) makes a cogent argument for the functional links among a community's political organization, its ability to intensify production, and the layout of its community plan. The circular compound will simply not accommodate the social complexities inherent in larger communities.

Mississippian

With the beginning of the Mississippian period at about AD 1000, Range's complex village was abandoned and replaced by four small, scattered Mississippian farmsteads. During this period, grand-scale construction began at the Cahokia site and almost everyone in the American Bottom moved to the new temple-town to help build it. This phenomenon represents yet another new higher level of centralization, this time at the regional rather than the local scale. Cahokia's town plan was oriented along a planned grid (Fowler 1969). Domestic buildings were densely nucleated and oriented along the grid's cardinal directions (Collins 1990; Mehrer and Collins 1995). This innovative and strictly controlled built environment clearly expressed social centralization in the large community layout that was pre-planned and organized by a relatively small group of people, yet adhered to by thousands. Although Cahokia's planners clearly drew upon pre-existing notions of rectilinearity and planned settlements, the exceedingly large scale of Cahokia's plan and the details of the site's grid are unique for the Eastern Woodlands.

The settlements at the Range site and many other rural localities throughout the countryside were quite different, as borne out by many thoroughly excavated sites (Emerson and Jackson 1984, 1987; Emerson *et al.* 1983; Hanenberger and Mehrer in prep.; Mehrer 1982, 1986a, 1986b,

1988, 1995; Milner 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1986, 1990). The most striking characteristic of the rural built environment is that the organizational stamp of central planning is absent (contra Emerson 1997a, 1997b; Pauketat 1997). The central planners of the Cahokia temple-town apparently had clear ideas of what order meant and how their organizing principles should be expressed in the orientation and placement of residences, mounds, plazas, palisades, and all the other structures that made up the largest settlement in the Eastern Woodlands at the time. Those ordering principles, however, are not in evidence in the countryside where folks organized and oriented their farmsteads according to local concerns, notably topography and waterways; rural household and community organization were apparently not governed by the abstract sense of the centralizing order that emphasized the cardinal directions and a grid system at Cahokia. Significantly, the distinctive Mississippian construction technology, incorporating wall trench foundations, was readily adopted in the country. This technical similarity to domestic, and most other constructions, in nucleated settlements clearly shows that these relatively isolated countryside farmers were members of society and full participants in Cahokia's social order. These facts distinguish them as vernacular owner-builder-users of their farmsteads (Guidoni 1975; Oliver 1987; Rapaport 1969, 1976, 1980) who were free of the strictures imposed by the more formal schemes of Cahokia's central planners but who were simultaneously full participants in the regional society.

Hierarchical order, and hence a sense of community order, was in evidence in the rural dispersed villages though, in the presence of nodal households, presumably occupied by locally prominent families who occupied leadership roles in their small dispersed communities. These nodes form a fairly heterogeneous class of settlements. In general, though, the nodal farmsteads were elaborate habitations – larger than those of neighboring households, and with more buildings, larger buildings, and more evidence of repeated repair and replacement of structures. They also contained special facilities that manifested their occupants' special significance in the local community. Some of these community "nodes" (Emerson and Milner 1981, 1982; Mehrer 1982, 1988, 1995; Milner and Emerson 1981; but see also Riordan 1975 for the original concept) served a general community function by offering circular sweathouses that might have been venues for cleansing and other socially integrative rituals (e.g. Lipe and Hegmon 1989). Other nodes contained small local mortuary shrines that helped both to integrate rural districts internally and to link them to the larger temple-towns (Emerson 1995). Finally, nodal point households also had much more exotic debris than their neighbors, indicating that they had greater access to goods brought into the region through long-distance trade networks.

The regional settlement hierarchy during Mississippian times was marked with a third scale of settlement, the town-and-mound centers that occupied a tier intermediate between the very large Cahokia site itself and the

dispersed communities of the countryside. These sites were probably local centers for rural populations who would have turned to their nearby temple-town leaders for local and regional social integration.

Discussion

One controversial issue that is crucial if we are to understand the American Bottom during the Mississippian period is the nature and extent to which rural households were controlled by Cahokia's central leadership. That is, which rural contexts were controlled by regional elites? One model is that the dispersed community leaders residing in nodes "must have been directly appointed to their positions by the Cahokia paramount" on the basis of their elite kin ties and their personal virtues and accomplishments (Emerson 1995: 296–7). That is, their social power was exclusively *delegated* to them, from above, by Cahokia's paramount ruler. The legitimacy of purely delegated power derives only from higher social levels (Adams 1975: 36–52), in this case the paramount chief or, in turn, his or her delegates. This position is not consistent with the archaeological record, nor is it supported by the ethnohistoric documents relevant to this area. Organizations, or communities, that rely minimally or not at all on allocated power are those that recruit by force, like prisons, homes for the mentally deficient, or forcibly conscripted military branches (Adams 1975); but, of course, these institutions are parts of state-level societies, not chiefdoms. Clearly, though, any local leader in this medial situation ideally has some social power delegated from above and some allocated from below.

The question remains, therefore, how was chiefly power felt by the members of the dispersed farming communities? The answer relies on theoretical issues of power relations, the epistemological differences between top-down and bottom-up analytical perspectives, and the archaeological evidence. The term social power is used here to mean simply the control over energetic forms or processes in the environment that affect other people. It subsumes the notions of "power to" and "power over" (Bell 1992; Foucault 1980, 1983). People with social power can, by word or deed, bring about events that change other people's lives (Adams 1975). Power relations among people, which are essentially mentalistic rather than ergonomic, always rely on symbolic communication and thus fall within the arenas of psychology and social behavior: "Power over an individual is a psychological facet of a social relationship" (Adams 1975: 21).

The delegation of at least some part of social power to the leaders of dispersed communities in this context is almost a certainty, but there are other sources of social power that are absolutely necessary to ensure the legitimacy of leadership in small groups like these (Adams 1975, 1977, 1988; Lears 1985). Local leaders must have also relied on social power that was allocated to them, from below, by their neighbors, perhaps in part in

recognition of their leadership talents. These two different types of power, distinguished by their sources, delegated and allocated, would have augmented one another, and it is probably a truism to say that any leader of a small group needs both allocated and delegated power – allocated power to integrate their neighbors with one another and delegated power to integrate the small community into a larger social order. Furthermore, the dichotomy is not that simple. Allocated power, grass-roots support, could have made some specific local leaders especially useful to regional elites and thus acceptable recipients of delegated power. Conversely, power delegated from regional authorities would have helped some local leaders remain legitimate in the face of eroding local support. Nonetheless, these dispersed communities were *not* independent of the regional power structure; they were integral and necessary parts of it (Mehrer 1995: 164).

One argument in support of the overwhelming strength of delegated power for dispersed-community leaders is based on "the nature of hierarchical governments, their penchant for control, [and their] concern for security and boundaries" (Emerson 1995: 298). This approach clearly represents an analytical view from the top downward, emphasizing elite concerns exclusively while ignoring the social dynamics within the lowest social order. A heterarchical view necessarily complements this with a bottom-up perspective, recognizing that at least a modicum of social power must be allocated to rural elites by their commoner neighbors. This fact would be manifested minimally by cooperation rather than resistance at the local level. Rural leaders undoubtedly had strong self-interests in smoothly integrating their neighbors into a productive community and then, in turn, smoothly integrating that community into the regional hierarchy. Chiefly demands for tribute may have been burdensome and persistently recalcitrant or resistant families or communities would probably have been dealt with harshly by the supernatural or military forces available to regional elites or their local affiliates. However, there is no evidence of farm families being massacred for resistance to the paramountcy (contra Pauketat 1997).

The concept of heterarchy is most useful as a way to recognize that there were various rural contexts that fell within one or the other of the power domains of regional authority, community-level leadership, or domestic autonomy. It is granted that rural farmsteaders were relatively powerless in contrast to regional elites but not all rural matters were important or amenable to control by regional elites. The built environment of the dispersed rural communities strongly indicates that some rural contexts were relatively free of centralized control. Most of rural daily life, for example, would have revolved around domestic matters that were of no consequence to regional authority or matters that were best managed by family farmers. The efficacy of rural community leadership by nodal farmstead families would have fluctuated from strong to weak depending on the context at issue. In rural matters of regional importance (e.g. the mobilization of

tribute), local leaders, as delegates of regional elites, probably had some strong influence over their neighbors. In other rural matters (e.g. surplus agricultural production through family labor intensification) beyond the realm of regionally centralized control, local leaders probably had little direct influence. It is important to remember in this regard that agricultural intensification in the American Bottom was not aided by any large-scale, centrally planned program of infrastructure improvement such as field terracing, irrigation canals, or wetland drainage. Regional elites spent the surplus labor at their disposal in building monumental mounds, plazas, and palisades. Agricultural intensification and the surpluses it yielded were achieved by increased labor inputs and effective micro-management of local ecosystems at the level of the farm family.

Throughout Emergent Mississippian and Mississippian times, the ongoing process of social centralization was always expressed materially through the idiom of increasingly densely nucleated communities that were planned to embody the structure of centralizing leadership. During the peak of regional centralization, however, dispersed farming communities appear in the countryside. Their buildings were of vernacular design, meaning that they were designed, built, and used by their owners, not according to a rigidly standardized model conceived at the region's political center, but to more flexible ideas, shared among farmsteaders, of what a farmstead should be. The households were also vernacular in organization, rather than strictly standardized. The design and placement of these dispersed communities of scattered farmsteads show no evidence of centralized planning or other interference by regional elites. There is little to no evidence for communal storage at the dispersed community level. Claims for centralized community storage at nodal household settlements are unwarranted, given that they are based on a few unique archaeological features (contra Emerson 1997b).

It seems clear that the basic unit of production, at least in the countryside, changed from that of the Emergent Mississippian hut compound or village to that of the Mississippian household or family. Ironically, this decrease in the size of the minimal economic unit of production might have been just what was necessary to meet increasing demands from regional elites for more surplus tribute. Intensive agriculture requires the household to mobilize high quantity and high quality labor; the flexibility of the household organization allows it to accommodate itself to available resources; and "the autonomy of the household as a unit of decision making, economic accumulation, and security, despite community . . . control" (Netting 1989: 228) means that the farmstead household can meet tributary demands better than a communal/community-based minimal economic unit.

In this way, as the basic units of production, Mississippian farm families enjoyed a subtle form of domestic freedom not enjoyed by their ancestors who lived in hut compounds or villages. This simple freedom amounted to managing their own daily domestic affairs without constant or overbearing

interference from either village heads or lineage elders. It is very likely that they were smallholders in the sense that they had some legitimate claim to occupy the land they worked and a high degree of latitude to organize their labor in the way they chose, presumably intensifying their production to meet tributary and other social demands for surplus commodities (Netting 1989, 1993). This form of organization no doubt relates to the breakdown of low-class lineage ties in Mississippian society (Mehrer and Collins 1995). These families did participate completely, according to their station, in the region's social, economic, and ritual systems but they probably did micromanage their own farms on a family basis, as minimal units of production, rather than on a communal basis or at the direction of a centrally planned regional farming economy.

Conclusions

We have seen that for several centuries the processes of centralization were expressed at the community level by increasing population nucleation: larger community populations; greater community population densities; and increasing aggregation of low-order social units into higher-order units. One general trend was an increasing spatial proximity between the local, and eventually regional, bearers of central authority and the social group's constituent members on a daily basis, as seen in larger and denser community layouts. This trend was true throughout the Emergent Mississippian period and it persisted throughout the Mississippian period. The most strongly centralized members of Emergent Mississippian society not only lived near their leader and one another, but worked communally, faced each other across a common courtyard, stored their produce in central storage facilities, and as such constituted the basic unit of production. Later, downtown Cahokia and the outlying mound centers are strong indicators that centralization of authority continued to be expressed on the landscape through the idiom of nucleated settlement.

In Mississippian times, centralized storage seems to have become the prerogative of chiefs rather than lineage heads as the basic unit of production devolved to the household level. This change seems clear in the prevalence of private interior storage in low-class Mississippian homes. As economic units, these families produced and stored their annual subsistence commodities themselves even though their surplus was given in tribute. They were directly and actively tied to the regional hierarchy through demands for that tribute and for their participation in various ritual and labor activities that supported regional solidarity.

The nodal leaders of dispersed rural communities were probably charged by regional elites to demand, coordinate, and facilitate the flow of tribute from the local farmers to the nearest collection point and on to a long-term chiefly storage facility. However, that long-term storage facility does not seem

to have been at the nodal leader's homestead. Communal storage is not clearly evident at nodal households, and there is no evidence at all that nodal leaders were in charge of their neighbors' subsistence storage. This lack of communal storage facilities at nodal households also indicates that the dispersed community was not the basic unit of production. All these trends are consistent with the idea that these rural families farmed intensively to produce surplus for tribute and in return enjoyed the good life of Mississippian farmsteaders and well integrated members of Cahokia's polity. This model in no way diminishes the power of nodal leaders, but it does cast their role in local power relations as centering on the integration of their local communities into the regional systems rather than the management of their neighbors' farms.

Of course, the good life for local farmers entailed full participation in the region's ritual activities that legitimized the polity's top-heavy distribution of social power. This way of life also required participation in the complex networks of trade and exchange that made the Cahokia polity possible. These networks, however, not only extracted tribute from their farms but also delivered exotic paraphernalia and superior technology, such as the Mill Creek chert hoes that were so necessary to modern farming at that time.

Cahokia's elites created and fostered their strongly centralized regional religious, economic, and political systems to service their own self-interests. But recognizing the heterarchical nature of low-ranking local groups, who were integral parts of a regional polity, does not challenge the high degree of social power enjoyed by the paramountcy – unless we believe, as Cahokia's paramount surely did, that his will and pleasure guided all the thoughts and actions of each and every one of his loving subjects all throughout their working day.

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4

MAKING PUEBLO COMMUNITIES

Architectural discourse at Kotyiti, New Mexico

Robert W. Preucel

> All communities larger than the primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined.
> (Benedict Anderson 1983: 15)

Introduction

On 21 October 1692, Diego de Vargas, the Reconquerer of New Mexico, climbed the steep trail to the top of Cochiti mesa to take possession of the pueblo of Kotyiti (La Cieneguilla de Cochiti) in the name of the Royal Crown. He recorded his visit both in his journal and in a letter to the King of Spain. The latter reads as follows,

> Once I had ascended to the top, I could see a long road. The walled pueblo, with an entry and two plazas, was located in a cañada. I entered them, and I had all the Indians and people who were there in their dwellings called together there. Once they had come down and were in the main plaza, they were asked why there were so many people and why they were living at that place when the pueblos before it were abandoned. They replied to me that they were obliged to live where they were able to defend themselves, because they had suffered many raids and deaths from the Apaches and the enemies of the rebel nations that had reconciled, surrendered, and been conquered. The people living there were from the three pueblos of Cochiti, San Marcos, and San Felipe, all of which I had passed.
> (Kessell *et al.* 1995: 199–200)

This passage reveals two important aspects of the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish Reconquest period. It draws attention to the varied social composition of

many of the newly founded villages; the people of Kotyiti were from three different parent villages – Cochiti, as well as San Marcos and San Felipe. And, it alludes to the nature of discourse between the Spanish and the Indian rebels. Here the people of Kotyiti seem to be trying to ward off retributions for their apostasy by telling a partial truth; they are on their mesa, not out of fear of the Spanish, but because of the threat of raids by Apaches and other enemies.

Only seven months had passed since Vargas had marched up the Rio Grande Valley and successfully negotiated the surrender of Santa Fe in the so-called "bloodless reconquest" of New Mexico. The surrounding Pueblo villages, however, remained hostile to the Spaniards, and Vargas was forced to bring them under submission, one by one. The Cochiti district was widely regarded as one of the most hostile of the rebel strongholds. It had successfully resisted Juan Domínguez de Mendoza's attempt at pacification in 1681, effectively turning back Antonio de Otermín's reconquest bid. For this reason, Vargas viewed the surrender of Cochiti Pueblo to be even more important than that of Santa Fe itself (Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 383). Thus, he was alarmed to find Cochiti uninhabited and people from three different villages living together on the formidable Cochiti mesa.

In this chapter, I discuss the making of Pueblo communities during the seventeenth century using the Revolt period settlement of Kotyiti as a case study. My central argument is that social and political identities are created, in part, through discourses of community. These discourses involve the negotiation of social differences, particularly those differences grounded in social structuring principles such as ethnicity, gender, kinship, class, and race. Community formation thus involves the mobilization of social identities for political purposes and, at different times and places, different principles or combinations of principles can be emphasized. During the seventeenth century, Pueblo leaders manufactured an ethnic consciousness through a discourse of resistance in order to join all of the villages in the common goal of opposing the Spaniards. At the same time, this discourse was crosscut by local village and group identities which emerged in the context of large-scale population movements and relocations. The dialectic between these two kinds of communities, one regional and the other local, played an important role in shaping the rich and varied histories of the modern Rio Grande Pueblos.

Communities in Southwestern archaeology

In a recent review, W.H. Wills and Robert Leonard (1994b) have identified two distinct approaches to the study of communities in Southwestern archaeology. The first of these focuses on individual sites, considering them to be corporate units equivalent to residential communities. Influential examples of this approach include James N. Hill's (1966, 1970) studies of Broken K Pueblo, and Jeffrey Dean's (1969, 1970) studies of Keet Seel and

Betatakin. The second approach regards settlement systems as economic or political communities. David Doyel (1976), for example, has defined Hohokam villages located along the same canal system as "irrigation communities," and Robert Powers *et al.* (1983) have interpreted certain settlements on the periphery of Chaco Canyon as "outlier communities."

Regardless of approach, be it site or settlement based, a single behavioral model underwrites these studies. Hill (1966: 10), for example, regarded community as the social and physical context of human behavior; "people do certain things in certain places within their communities and they leave behind them many of the structured remains of these activities." William Lipe stressed the integrative function of community, defining it as

> a minimal, territorially-based aggregate, including individuals of the two sexes and at least three generations, capable of maintaining itself through time, including opportunities for enactment of or articulation with the main social role present in the larger society, and including mechanisms for transmission from one generation to the next of the principle content of its culture.
>
> (Lipe 1970: 86)

There is thus a clear sense that communities are characterized by residential proximity and share common social institutions and decision-making structures.

Recent studies have refined and extended this behavioral model. For example, Wills and Leonard (1994b: xv) define community members as individuals who are "dispersed over numerous settlements and who interact with one another in shifting, fluid patterns of obligation and reciprocity." This perspective relaxes the residential proximity aspect of the definition and highlights the importance of exchange relations. It has led to a renewed emphasis on community dynamics and boundary formation (see Wills and Leonard 1994a). Michael Kolb and James Snead (1997: 611), taking a slightly different tack, consider community to be a "spatially defined locus of human activity that incorporates social reproduction, subsistence production and self-identification." In this case, the spatial component is retained, while questions of social identity are introduced. Yet, regardless of these advances, the social dynamics of community formation remain elusive.

Part of the problem lies in the behavioral approach itself. The emphasis on relations of obligation and reciprocity in traditional societies neglects how power differentials structure these same relations. Even so-called "egalitarian" societies have social mechanisms for allocating power and prestige. What varies are the ways in which these mechanisms are acknowledged within the public sphere. Ideologies of equality can often mask social inequality. Related to this is the problem of conformity. It is often assumed that people's interactions are directed towards social integration, yet this

view neglects the fact that people hold multiple roles and identities they access at different times for different purposes. Consequently, communities are rarely stable and monolithic. Rather they emerge as the outcomes of individuals negotiating their interests against preexisting, historically constituted social structures.

By way of transcending this behavioral approach, I wish to draw upon two current anthropological perspectives on community. The first of these regards community as an "imagined construct." This is the view espoused by Anthony Cohen (1985: 117), for example, who argues that community exists in the minds of its members, as they "think themselves into difference." This process is fundamentally symbolic as different resources (dialect, dress, food, mortuary practices) come to be represented as social boundaries. These resources provide people with a material referent for their personal identities. The "assertion of community" is thus simultaneously an individual social act and part of the general process of cultural reproduction.

A related perspective takes a discourse-centered approach to community. Greg Urban (1996), for example, regards community both as social organization and a vehicle for the circulation of images of social organization. Discourse about social organization is preeminent over other kinds of discourses because it creates "the conditions of the circulation of all other discourse, and, consequently, for the transmission of culture" (Urban 1996: 138). In this view, community building is a cycling process by which new interpretations are introduced and brought to bear on experience. In this sense, community discourse has a "life of its own" as it tends to shape itself in ways that maximize its circulation and perpetuate itself.

These two approaches are not without certain unresolved problems. For example, Cohen adopts a passive role for material culture in the dynamics of community formation, while Urban fails to pay enough attention to agency, how individuals may sometimes control the character and shape of discourse and, in the process, generate change. But together these reformulations of community take us beyond the behavioralism of processual archaeology and begin to suggest new directions for an archaeology of community. For example, they imply that we need to consider the possibility that archaeological sites were the loci of multiple, and often competing, discourses on community.

The Revolt period and ethnic consciousness

The Pueblo Revolt and Spanish Reconquest period (1680–1700) has been the subject of substantial historical scholarship (e.g., Espinosa 1988; Hackett and Shelby 1942a, 1942b; Kessell and Hendricks 1992; Kessell *et al.* 1995; Scholes 1942). In a recent study, Andrew Knaut (1995) has convincingly argued that, despite this wealth of research, the nuances of internal and external social and political relations have been overlooked. He suggests

that factionalism and ethnogenesis within both Pueblo and Spanish settlements created the necessary conditions for the emergence of new alliances which transcended traditional Pueblo enmities.

One way to approach community formation during this period is to reexamine the ethnohistoric documents. But in doing so we need to keep three things in mind. First, the written accounts of Pueblo motives and beliefs are derived from testimony given to the Spaniards by informants, many of whom were war captives. These accounts may have had strategic value for the informants and, indeed, some were likely given to mislead the Spaniards. Second, the Spaniards may have had their own reasons for recording this testimony in the ways that they did. For example, it may have been advantageous for Otermín to represent the Revolt of 1680 as an anomalous phenomenon, rather than to consider it as broadly based and grounded in previous uprisings.[1] Third, there was likely a gap between the rhetoric and the motivations of individual participants. The reasons that the Keres chose to participate may have been different from those of the Tewa, and both may have been quite different from those of the Apache or Navaho.

My analysis of the ethnohistoric literature suggests that a new pan-Pueblo ethnic consciousness emerged during the first part of the seventeenth century. This form of ethnicity does not appear to have any historical antecedents and, in fact, it may be an example of Pueblo leaders borrowing a means of categorization from the Spaniards and reinvesting it with meaning to serve their own immediate needs (Comaroff 1987). The historical conditions giving rise to this ethnic consciousness include relations of inequality embedded in the encomienda system used by the Spaniards to appropriate Pueblo labor (Barber 1932). Also important were the increasing number of Pueblo converts to the Catholic church, many of whom were peoples of mixed Indian and Spanish ancestry (Gutiérrez 1991).[2]

The ethnohistoric documents reveal that Pueblo leaders (caciques, medicine society leaders, and war chiefs) manufactured this ethnic consciousness by means of a "rhetoric of resistance." According to Pedro Namboa,

> the resentment which all the Indians have in their hearts has been so strong, from the time this kingdom was discovered, because the religious and the Spaniards took away their idols and forbade their sorceries and idolatries; that they have inherited successively from their old men the things pertaining to their ancient customs; and that he has heard this resentment spoken of since he was of an age to understand.
>
> (Hackett and Shelby 1942a: 61)

This statement reveals the deep roots of this discourse since at the time of his deposition in 1681, Namboa was an old man in his eighties (Hackett and Shelby 1942a: 60).

The rhetoric of resistance appears to have been grounded in the claim of common genealogical origins and the revival of traditionalism. The evidence for the role of kinship is somewhat speculative and rests, in part, upon my interpretation of Pueblo oral narratives. A Laguna account, for example, identifies the two supernatural sisters, Nautsiti and Itctsiti, as the mothers of the Indians and whites respectively (Boas 1928: 276). This account links all Indians in a common genealogy and, at the same time, differentiates them from whites. A Cochiti version identifies Utctsityi as the mother of the Cochiti and Naotsityi as the mother of the Navaho (Benedict 1931: 2). Although the specifics are different, the basic principle is the same; the duality provides a structure for marking difference on the basis of kinship. The construction of a mythological genealogy, in fact, may have been one of the ways by which the pan-Pueblo ethnicity was legitimized, regardless of whether these specific accounts actually originated during the Revolt period.

The evidence for revivalism is quite strong. After the Revolt of 1680, Popé and his associates toured the Rio Grande villages preaching the renouncement of Spanish beliefs and customs, ritual purification, and the renewal of traditional ceremonies. The people were instructed to

> break up and burn the images of the holy Christ, the Virgin Mary and the other saints, the crosses, and everything pertaining to Christianity, and that they burn the temples, break up the bells, and separate from the wives whom God had given them in marriage and take those whom they desired.
>
> (Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 247–8)

They were told to purify themselves to expunge the stain of Catholicism.

> In order to take away their baptismal names, the water, and the holy oils, they were to plunge into the rivers and wash themselves with amole, which is a root native to the country, washing even their clothing, with the understanding that there would thus be taken from them the character of the holy sacraments.
>
> (Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 247–8)

Finally, they were instructed to repair their kivas and hold their traditional katcina ceremonies. If they did this, they would "harvest a great deal of maize, many beans, a great abundance of cotton, calabashes, and very large watermelons and cantaloupes; and . . . enjoy abundant health and leisure" (Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 247–8).

Popé's methods included intimidation to secure the allegiance of recalcitrant villages. He claimed divine authority on the basis of a vision he received in a Taos kiva:

> it happened that in an estufa of the pueblo of Los Taos there appeared to the said Popé three figures of Indians who never came out of the estufa. They gave the said Popé to understand that they were going underground to the lake of Copala. He saw these figures emit fire from all the extremities of their bodies, and that one of them was called Caudi, another Tilini, and the other Tleume.
>
> (Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 246)

Many people interpreted this vision as evidence that Popé "talked with the devil" (Declaration of Juan, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 233–4). He also gained a reputation for imposing severe sanctions on traitors. For example, it was well known that when he learned that his son-in-law, Nicholás Bua, the governor of San Juan, opposed the plot and was planning to inform the Spanish, he ordered him summarily killed (Declaration of Juan, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 234). And finally, Popé expressed little tolerance for those sympathetic to the Spanish. "He who might still keep in his heart a regard for the priests, the governor, and the Spaniards would be known from his unclean face and clothes, and would be punished" (Declaration of Pedro Naranjo, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 248). Punishment ranged from beheading to flogging.

This rhetoric of resistance served three basic needs. First, it united the different Pueblo villages in the common goal of evicting the Spaniards. Second, it served as a powerful argument to win back the support of the Christian Indians who had strayed from proper Pueblo behavior. And third, it legitimized sanctions against those refusing to accept the ancestral ways. Seen in this light, the pan-Pueblo ethnic consciousness was not simply a utopian return to an ideal past, but rather a contemporary interpretation created by Pueblo leaders as a means of asserting new meanings and facilitating social action (Hobsbawm 1983).

Community making at Kotyiti

Eleven years prior to Vargas's visit, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, the *maestre de campo* of Antonio de Otermín, led a military foray into the Cochiti district. His mandate was to evaluate the nature of the Pueblo resistance after the disastrous Revolt of 1680 and to receive the submission of the rebels. When he arrived at Cochiti, he found the pueblo uninhabited and its people massing on Cochiti mesa. He was told that the Pueblos had learned of the Spanish attack on Isleta; "the news spread from pueblo to

pueblo, it being said that the Spaniards had killed all the natives of the pueblo of La Isleta and had captured all the outsiders from the other pueblos who had come to seek maize" (Declaration of Juan in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 236–7). Since Otermín had not, in fact, killed the people of Isleta, this may be an example of Pueblo leaders circulating a false rumor to mobilize resistance. Its effect, in any event, was immediate, and the villages of the Rio Abajo took refuge in their mountain strongholds; the people of Alameda, Puaray, and Sandia fled to the Sandia Mountains, the people of Santa Ana, Zia, and Jemez established themselves at Cerro Colorado near the pueblo of Jemez, and the people of San Felipe, Santo Domingo, and Cochiti went up to Cochiti mesa (Declaration of Juan in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 236).

These multi-village associations reveal very specific social and political ties, some of which crosscut linguistic boundaries. The people at Cochiti mesa were all Keresan and those who fled together to the Sandia Mountains were all Tiwa. The people at Cerro Colorado, however, included both Keresan and Jemez peoples, two unrelated linguistic groups. Presumably, the influx of people, some familiar and some not, required social and ritual accommodation. One means by which new arrivals may have been integrated into the new village was the clan system. At Kotyiti, for example, new arrivals from San Felipe may have joined with Cochiti members of the same clan. This practice is documented ethnographically. Ester Goldfrank (1927: 15) wrote that "if a woman belonging to the Oak clan at another town comes to live in the village she automatically becomes a member of the Oak clan at Cochiti, but undergoes a ceremonial re-adoption."

Mendoza also learned that people from these villages and many others (except the Hopi) had assembled at Cochiti mesa for a war council (Declaration of Juan in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 236–7). Apparently there was a heated debate underway between two factions. Some people believed that they should give themselves up peacefully to the Spanish while others, particularly the young men, vehemently opposed the idea. Prominent among the latter was El Ollita, a war chief of San Ildefonso, who stated that

> no one should surrender in peace, that all must fight, and that although some of his brothers were coming with the Spaniards, if they fought on the side of the Spaniards he would kill them, and if they came over to the side of the Indians he would not harm them
>
> (Declaration of Josephe, in Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 241–2)

This appeal carried the force that it does, in part, because it subordinated kinship ties to broader based pan-Pueblo ones in a rhetoric of resistance.

Figure 4.1 Location map of Kotyiti and other Revolt and Reconquest period mesatop villages of the northern Rio Grande, New Mexico.

Constructing identities through architecture

Kotyiti is situated high atop Horn Cochiti at an elevation range of 1970–9 m within the Santa Fe National Forest, Jemez Ranger District (Figure 4.1). The settlement is best understood as two contemporaneous villages and related features, including trails and fortifications, that extend across the entire mesatop and down into Cochiti and Bland Canyons. The history of

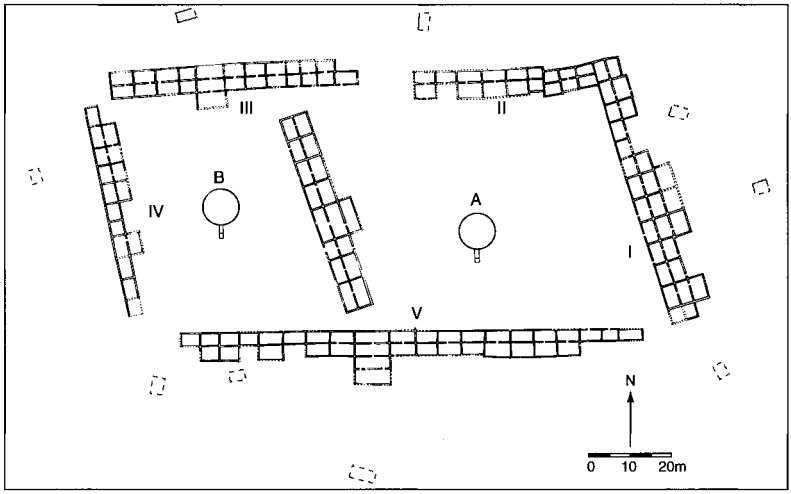

Figure 4.2 Plan of the Kotyiti plaza pueblo (LA 295)

archaeological research at Kotyiti spans over a century. The two villages were first identified in 1880 by Adolph Bandelier in the course of his surveys for the Archaeological Institute of America (Bandelier 1892; Lange and Riley 1966). Nels Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History conducted extensive excavations at both sites in 1912 (Nelson 1914). The archaeological resources of Kotyiti were assessed in 1979 by the U.S. Forest Service (Dougherty 1980; Dougherty and Staley 1979) and site monitoring continues on a regular basis. In 1995, a joint University of Pennsylvania Museum–Pueblo de Cochiti Project was established to explore the history and cultural significance of Kotyiti (Preucel 1998).

The main village (LA 295) consists of a formal plaza pueblo with six separate roomblocks enclosing two plazas, each of which contains a single large kiva (Figure 4.2). The actual number of first floor rooms varies depending on counting method – for example, Bandelier reported 118 rooms while Nelson reported 136. All of the rooms are constructed of large, shaped tuff blocks with adobe mortar and tuff chinking. The masonry work is quite good and, in some places, there are standing walls 3m high. Sockets for roof beams (vigas) are present in upper areas of a few walls and there is evidence for multiple stories. Many of the rooms have features such as vents, doorways, and niches. In addition to a kiva, there are two features located in the west plaza. One of these is a large concentration of unshaped tuff stones which may be a plaza shrine similar to Tewa "Earth mother, earth navel, middle place shrines" (Ortiz 1969).

The secondary village (LA 84) is located farther down the mesatop some 150 m to the southeast (Figure 4.3). This less formal village, or ranchería,

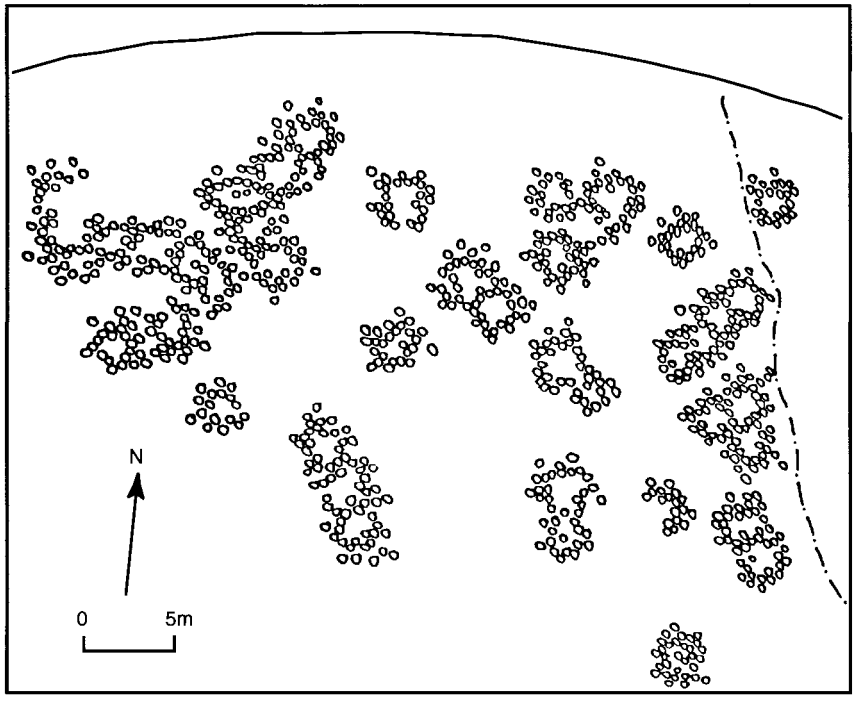

Figure 4.3 Plan of the Kotyiti ranchería (LA 84) (redrawn from Dougherty 1980: Fig. 16, courtesy of the USFS Santa Fe National Forest site archives)

consists of a cluster of approximately thirty noncontiguous structures ranging in size from one to possibly three rooms. These houses are all highly eroded and, in some cases, the wall alignments are hard to see, making mapping difficult. The building materials are small, roughly shaped tuff blocks. Presumably, chinking, mortar, and plaster were used for the walls, but this is not preserved. The spatial organization of the houses is rather loosely structured; some houses possess a general northwest–southeast orientation while others have a northeast–southwest alignment. A linear embankment of unknown significance is located in the central portion of the site.

There is some debate on the dating of these two villages in the literature. Bandelier (1892), Nelson (1914), and Dougherty and Staley (1979) all regarded the ranchería as ancestral to the plaza pueblo primarily because of differences in their architectural styles. However, Mera (1940) and Lange (in Lange and Riley 1966: 14, n. 98.) considered the two villages to be contemporaneous on the basis of their surface ceramics. Our analyses of the ceramic collections at the Museum of New Mexico and the American Museum of Natural History support the Mera/Lange interpretation. Both the plaza pueblo and ranchería are dominated by

All dates		Cutting dates	
154	7	–	
–		–	
–		–	
–		–	
–		–	
159	9	–	
160	5	–	
161	6	–	
–		–	
–		–	
164	2	–	
165	1, 2, 4, 7, 9	–	
166	1, 6	–	
–		–	
168	0, 0, 0, 1, 2, 3, 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 5, 8, 8, 9	168	4, 9
169	0, 1, 1	169	0, 1

Figure 4.4 Stem-and-leaf diagram of Kotyiti (LA 295) tree-ring dates (data from Robinson *et al.* 1978: 43–4)

the same painted ware assemblages, with Kotyiti Glaze and Tewa Polychrome ceramics predominating. Dendrochronological dates are only available for the plaza pueblo and they indicate substantial building activity between 1680 and 1691 (Figure 4.4).[3] These results support the view that both villages were occupied during the Revolt period. Given this conclusion, the question arises as to why these two villages were built in different architectural styles.

A number of studies have examined how architecture and the built environment both encode and reproduce world views (e.g. Ashmore 1991; Basso 1996; Broadbent *et al.* 1980; Cosgrove 1984: Hirsch and O'Hanlon 1995: Lawrence and Low 1990). According to this perspective, the organization and layout of Pueblo villages are not only responses to environmental considerations; they also embody the values and beliefs of the people who constructed and lived in them. The orientations of the roomblocks, the placement of the kivas and shrines, the gateways into the plazas, and the trail network are all part of how meaning was inscribed upon the landscape. Alfonso Ortiz (1969), and more recently Rina Swentzell (1990), have discussed in considerable detail how the Tewa world is organized according to concentric circles radiating outwards from the village plaza shrines to mountain top shrines and how these regulate specific activities. This general pattern, if not the specifics, seems to be widespread among all the Rio Grande Pueblos.

The form and layout of the plaza pueblo of Kotyiti can be interpreted as an architectural assertion of tradition. In this sense, it is an archetype village, the outcome of the broader pan-Pueblo discourse on shared origins and the local invention of tradition by the Cochiti people. Some of this meaning can be "read" with reference to the ethnographic literature. According to Leslie White (1964: 80), the Keresan people conceptualize their world as a square inhabited by supernatural beings who dwell in specific Houses located in the four corners of the world. The placement of these Houses "domesticated" the landscape, rendering it intelligible, safe, and timeless. Applying this knowledge to the plaza pueblo of Kotyiti, we can propose that its form symbolically recreated the Keres world during a time when Pueblo leaders were preaching a "return to tradition." The three gateways in the northwest, southwest, and southeast corners of the village likely were symbolic referents to the three corners of the world and the deities dwelling therein. The central gateway between the two northern roomblocks gave access to Shipap.[4] The terraced roomblocks themselves may metaphorically evoke mountains and clouds and the rock pile in the west plaza may be a plaza shrine, representing the place of emergence from the underworld.

The plaza pueblo was a planned construction. The wall intersection data collected by the Kotyiti Research Project reveal that large sections of all six roomblocks were built as single construction episodes. On morphological grounds, the three earliest structures appear to be Roomblocks III, V, and VI, each of which includes a core of very large rooms which may have been the homes of the leaders of medicine societies.[5] This form would have given the village an "H" shape and delimited the two plazas required by the two kiva groups. In 1692, when Vargas saw Kotyiti for the first time, he noted that it possessed "three cuarteles and another large, separate one" (Kessell and Hendricks 1992: 515). Vargas's descriptions of the pueblos he visited are not always easy to reconcile against archaeological data, but his account is consistent with the idea that Roomblocks II, III, and VI are the three cuarteles and Roomblock V is the "large, separate one."

The plaza pueblo appears to have grown by means of four processes: the construction of entire roomblocks, additions to the ends of existing roomblocks, the joining of roomblocks, and the construction of single room outliers. Some of these processes may have occurred simultaneously. If Vargas's account is accurate, Roomblocks I and IV must have been built sometime after 1692 as discussed above. Room additions are clearly visible at the ends of Roomblocks I, III, V, and VI; their walls abut those of the main roomblock. This indicates that families were continually incorporated into these residential units. Eight rooms were added to link Roomblocks I and II and thus close off the northeast gateway. Because of the irregularity of this addition, this process may have happened gradually in a series of discrete building phases. Finally, at least nine outlier rooms were established

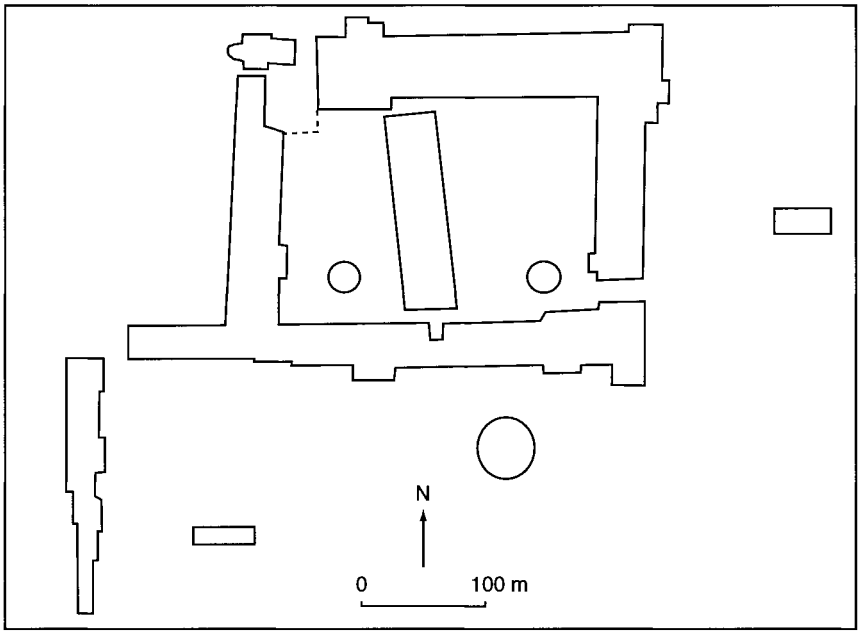

Figure 4.5 Plan of Patokwa (LA 96) (redrawn from map by Reginald Fisher, c. 1931?, courtesy of the USFS Santa Fe National Forest site archives

immediately outside the village and adjacent to all roomblocks but Roomblock VI (the central roomblock).

The ranchería, by contrast, is not formally organized and its individual houses have a loosely clustered, haphazard feel. It seems especially significant that ceremonial structures are absent; there are no kivas or clearly defined plaza areas. One possible interpretation is that the ranchería was built and occupied by people who were not socially positioned to appropriate the Kotyiti sacred landscape. These people could not construct their own ritual features, perhaps because of their provisional social status as refugees and, thus, would have had to perform their ceremonies at the plaza pueblo. If this interpretation is correct, it would be an example of ceremonial dependency.

This type of architectural discourse occurred elsewhere in the Northern Rio Grande during the Revolt and Reconquest period. Perhaps the best example is the case of Patokwa (LA 96) and Astialakwa (LA 1825), two ancestral Jemez pueblos located on Guadalupe mesa in the Jemez district. Patokwa is a large double plaza pueblo situated on the lower portion of the mesa (Figure 4.5). It is quite similar in form to the Kotyiti plaza pueblo with five roomblocks, and a kiva in each plaza. Patokwa is said to have been a new village in 1694 (Bloom and Mitchell 1938: 101) and thus it

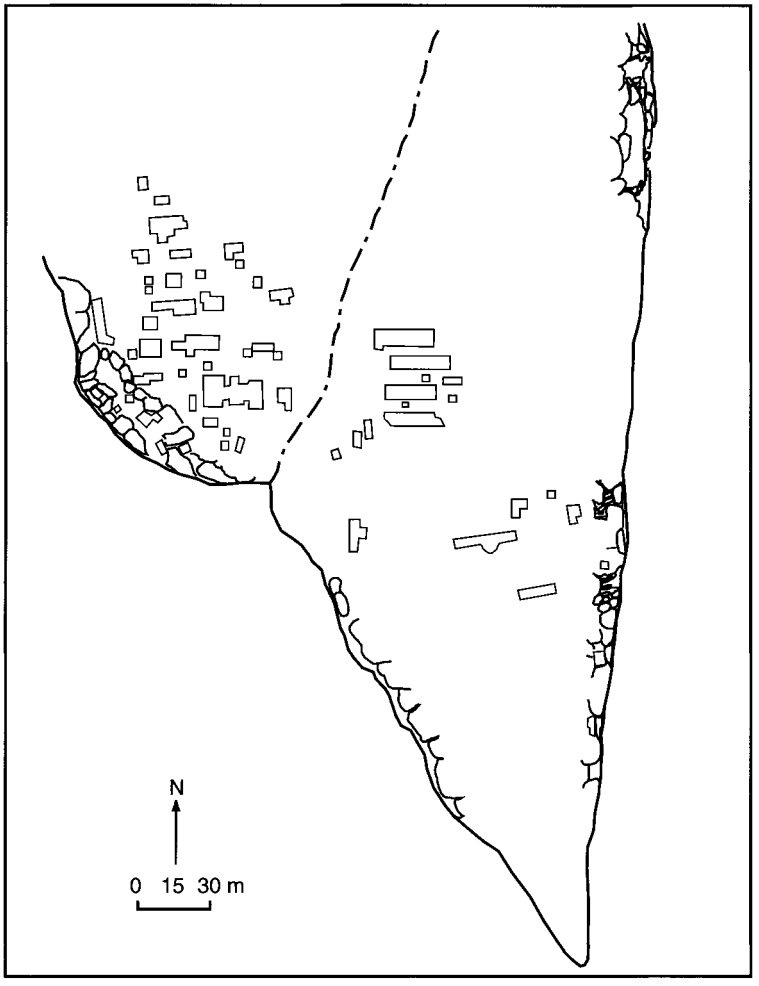

Figure 4.6 Plan of Astialakwa (LA 1825) (redrawn from Dougherty 1980: Fig. 4, courtesy of the USFS Santa Fe National Forest site archives)

is likely that it too served as an index of Pueblo cosmology. A significant difference, however, is a possible Great Kiva located due south of the pueblo. Another difference is the mission church, San Diego del Monte, that was established in its northwest corner in 1694 (Bloom and Mitchell 1938: 103).

Astialakwa, located high on the upper mesa, is strikingly reminiscent of the Kotyiti ranchería. It consists of two discrete clusters of isolated rooms and roomblocks in a semi-formal arrangement on either side of an impermanent stream (Figure 4.6). The lack of kivas there suggests that its

inhabitants may have been ritually integrated by the Great Kiva at Patokwa. This integration would have been necessary since Astialakwa may have housed refugees from Santo Domingo as well as Jemez (Hodge *et al.* 1945: 278).[6] Like Kotyiti, Astialakwa was attacked and subdued by Vargas during his 1694 campaign.

Conclusions

Community studies in Southwestern archaeology have typically relied upon a definition of community that privileges social interaction between spatially congruent residential groups based on mutual rights and obligations. Recent anthropological studies of community have drawn attention to some of the ways in which community can be productively disarticulated from residence and separated from economic reciprocity. These studies regard community as a form of identity discourse created and reproduced by interpretive acts in the public sphere. This insight poses certain challenges and opportunities for Southwestern archaeology. It suggests that we need to rethink the relations between different sites and consider the possibilities of multiple, contested identities in the creation and legitimization of power relations.

During the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish Reconquest period, two kinds of discourse circulated among the Pueblo people. The first of these was a new pan-Pueblo ethnic consciousness established by Pueblo leaders as a means of uniting villages against the Spanish. This ethnic consciousness was created by a rhetoric of resistance which drew on notions of shared origins and the revival of tradition. The second form of community was represented by local village affiliations. At different times, Pueblo refugees abandoned their home villages and joined newly established villages for protection against the Spanish and other enemies. But, in doing so, they were forced to redefine their own social identities. Some people eventually returned to their home villages, others retained their separate village identities alongside those of their new villages, and still others were fully absorbed into their new villages.

Kotyiti is an example of the local working out of these different kinds of communities. The form and layout of the plaza pueblo embodied a coherent Keresan world view which symbolically integrated peoples from three different parent villages, Cochiti, San Marcos and San Felipe. The plaza pueblo is thus an architectural example of the "return to tradition" as preached by Popé and the other Pueblo leaders. Home village affiliations of the different peoples living at Kotyiti, however, provided the context for persistent and ongoing factionalism. The people of San Felipe eventually left Kotyiti to establish their own mesatop village of Old San Felipe (LA 2047), also known as Basalt Point Pueblo. The people of San Marcos remained at Kotyiti, but continued to lobby for surrender. Both groups actively aided the Spanish with San Marcos serving as informants and San

Felipe participating as auxiliaries in Vargas's successful attack on Kotyiti on 17 April 1694.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1 The first historically documented multi-Pueblo alliance dates to the early 1600s when the Picuris, Taos, Pecos, Apaches, and Vaqueros revolted against the Tewa and Spanish (Hammond and Rey 1953: 1094). Although several individual pueblos rose up during the first half of the seventeenth century (for example, Jemez rebelled in 1623, Zuni in 1632, and Taos in 1639), the second multi-Pueblo revolt dates to 1650. This revolt was led by a confederation of people from Isleta, Alameda, San Felipe, Cochiti, and Jemez (Hackett and Shelby 1942b: 226). Yet a third revolt, explicitly modeled on the 1650 attempt, was planned during the administration of Fernando de Villanueva (1665–8) by Esteban Clemente, the governor of the Salinas pueblos.

2 Hackett and Shelby (1942a: xxi) estimated the number of Christianized Indians in New Mexico at the time of the Revolt of 1680 to be about 16,000.

3 Few of these dates are cutting dates making interpretation difficult. Some of the earlier dates may derive from the common practice of reusing old wood. Bandelier (1892: 178) considered the village to have been founded after 1683.

4 A fourth gateway was once present in the northeast corner, but this was closed off by the joining of Roomblocks I and II. Shipap is the Keresan name for the place of emergence where people came into this world from the underworld.

5 According to an Acoma account, the home of the war chief was usually built first, followed by those of the medicine men, and then those of the common people (White 1932: 146).

6 These Santo Domingo refugees later established a second refugee settlement on San Juan mesa (Hodge *et al.* 1945: 278). This village may be Bolestakwa (LA 136).

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5

BETWEEN THE HOUSEHOLD AND THE EMPIRE

Structural relationships within and among Aztec communities and polities

Timothy S. Hare

Two recent trends in Aztec studies have combined to provide a wealth of new information on Aztec settlements and communities. First, research on Nahuatl language documentation by ethnohistorians (e.g., Anderson *et al.* 1976; Cline 1993; Lockhart 1992) has transformed our view of the household, ward, and city-state, and second, the analysis of archaeological sites outside of Tenochtitlán (e.g., Hodge and Smith 1994) has broadened our knowledge of Aztec settlements. In this paper I describe the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence for the size, composition, and interrelationships within Aztec settlements and polities in central Mexico, and propose a new model for their spatial organization.

The archaeological record provides evidence for a complex settlement system including houses, patio groups, villages, towns, and cities. Concurrently, Nahuatl language census documents describe a complex sociopolitical hierarchy that includes households/patio groups (*calli*), subwards (*chinamitl*), wards (*calpolli*), and city-states (*altepemeh*). These parallel archaeological and ethnohistorical datasets demonstrate the existence of multiple levels of settlement with high levels of variation both within and between settlement levels. My archaeological research has documented a variety of settlement types including isolated farmsteads, villages, towns, and cities. These settlement types varied in size and composition and were embedded in a complex network of social, political, and economic relations. Based on these data, I suggest that a more complex settlement system existed in central Mexico than has been previously acknowledged. Moreover, the ethnohistorical data indicate that the houses, patio groups, villages, and wards or neighborhoods documented by archaeologists were the physical loci for important social, political, and economic units as conceived and described by the Nahuatl-speaking peoples of central Mexico. This fact

suggests that archaeologists should address the nature of individual communities to help reconstruct the hierarchical and heterarchical relations of settlement systems.

The concept of "community," however, presents a number of difficulties for archaeological analysis. In its most common colloquial meanings as a "unified body of individuals" and "the people with common interests living in a particular area" (*Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th ed., p. 233), community is a social rather than an archaeological concept. We cannot map or excavate a community in this sense, although we can infer that the inhabitants of a given ancient settlement formed a community at some point in the past. The second definition of community as the area where people with common interests live is more relevant archaeologically, since we can and do locate and study these areas all the time; we call them sites or settlements. But the equation of communities with settlements overlooks the potential complexity of spatial and non-spatial networks of social, political and economic relations. In most agrarian states, settlements vary tremendously in size, social composition, economic role, political status, and other characteristics. Villages, towns, isolated farmsteads, fortresses, and imperial capital cities could all be considered communities in the community-as-settlement view. However, the most relevant spatial scale for significant ongoing social interactions in many complex societies is the region, rather than individual settlements, suggesting that perhaps an entire socioeconomic region should be regarded as a community, following the social sense of the term. In fact, in the Aztec case, cities and towns are rarely mentioned in Nahuatl language sources, suggesting that urban settlements were not important conceptual categories to the Aztec peoples. Above the level of the *calpolli*, the documents are concerned with the *altepetl* or city-state, leading Lockhart (1992) to argue that *altepemeh* were the most important social institution above the household in conquest-period central Mexican society.

To address the concept of the community in Postclassic central Mexico, we must begin by examining the spatial organization of ancient settlement. I propose a new model for the organization of settlement systems in Aztec-period central Mexico. The archaeological and ethnohistorical data converge in the depiction of a complex settlement hierarchy ranging from individual households to city-state aggregates. Contradictions between the archaeological and ethnohistorical data suggest that Aztec communities vary greatly in time and space and that emic perceptions of community and urbanism do not necessarily coincide with archaeologically observable settlement systems. The Aztec concept of "community" appears to supersede demography in the determination of some characteristics of the settlement system, suggesting that a refinement of the concept of community will aid the analysis of ancient Aztec settlement systems and settlements more generally.

Aztec-period Morelos

The final two centuries before the Spanish conquest, the Late Postclassic period (*c.* AD 1350–1521), was a time of great social complexity and rapid social, economic, and political change in central Mexico. City-states and empires rose and fell, population expanded rapidly, social inequality became pronounced, cities grew, intensive agricultural practices transformed the rural landscape, and marketplaces and professional merchants linked distant areas into a single economic network (Smith 1994a). These processes have been most heavily studied in the Valley of Mexico due to the quantity of documentary sources from that area and a long history of archaeological investigation there. Nevertheless, the Mexican state of Morelos, immediately south of the Valley of Mexico, is a particularly appropriate setting to study the social dynamics of the Late Postclassic period for two reasons. First, the lower levels of modern urbanization and industrialization in Morelos have done less damage to the archaeological record than in the Valley of Mexico. Second, the existence of a corpus of detailed Nahuatl language census documents from Morelos provides exceptionally detailed data on conquest-period households and settlements in this area. In this section I describe the diversity within and between different settlement levels in Aztec-period Morelos as determined from archaeological and ethnohistorical data.

Residential excavations

Michael E. Smith's (1992, 1994b) excavations at the town site of Cuexcomate and the village site of Capilco in western Morelos provide detailed information on domestic structures and settlement organization at these sites (Figure 5.1). They are among the only Aztec sites where houses and other architectural features are visible on the surface today. This fact permitted the mapping of the entire settlements and the use of random sampling in the excavation of houses. In a previous comparison of the archaeological and ethnohistorical settlement hierarchies, Smith (1993) found considerable concordance between the two. The archaeological houses correspond to the documentary households and patio groups match up with documentary courtyard groups (*cemithualtin*, "those of one yard"). Wards of houses in the documents (see discussion below) correspond to the entire settlement of Capilco and to discrete spatial clusters of houses at the larger Cuexcomate, while the entire site of Cuexcomate fits well with the description of the *calpolli* in the documents.

In current research at the Aztec city of Yautepec in central Morelos, such a close correspondence between the archaeological and ethnohistorical records has not been found. One reason for the discrepancy is the nature of site formation processes: all of the Aztec houses at Yautepec were

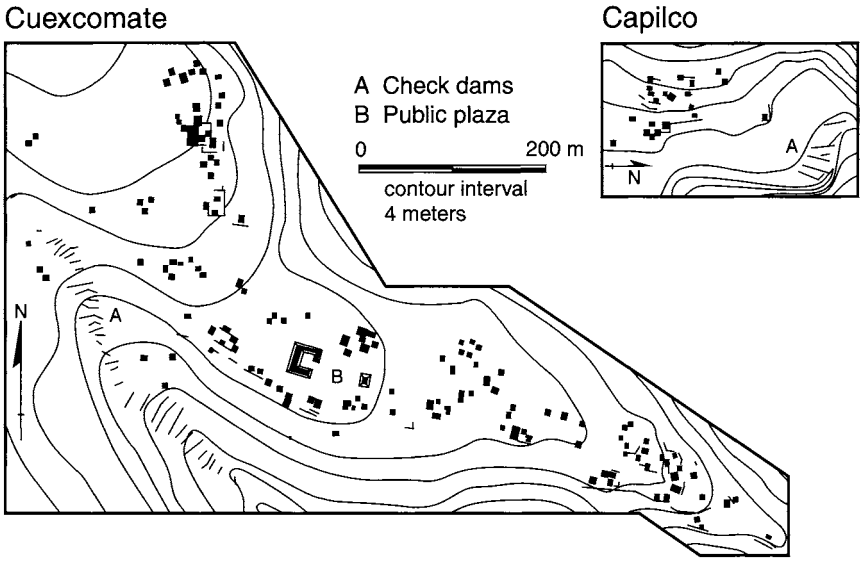

Figure 5.1 Maps of the town of Cuexcomate and the village of Capilco

buried or destroyed. Although seven structures were excavated (Smith *et al.* 1997), the presence or absence of houses in patio groups, wards, clusters, or other spatial units is impossible to determine. Moreover, the contradictions between archaeology and ethnohistory at Yautepec also result from the lack of descriptions of urban settlements in the Nahuatl language sources. While several Nahuatl language censuses are from urban settlements, they do not describe the spatial distribution of households, nor do they reveal differences between urban and rural settlements in the nature of their organizational units. The lack of data on differences between urban and rural settlements originates in the conceptual categories of the Nahua. At all settlement levels, rural and urban settlements share common social and administrative categories.

Regional survey

A recent full-coverage regional survey of the Yautepec Valley places the urban center of Yautepec in its regional context and encompasses six neighboring *altepemeh* (Cascio and Hare 1996; Cascio *et al.* 1995; Hare *et al.* 1997). The survey covered over 150 sq. km and located more than three hundred Postclassic sites ranging in size from less than 0.1 to 130 ha (Figure 5.2). A combination of grab-bag and intensive quantifiable surface collections were taken from all sites. These sampling procedures allowed me to apply the new Postclassic chronology for the urban center of Yautepec

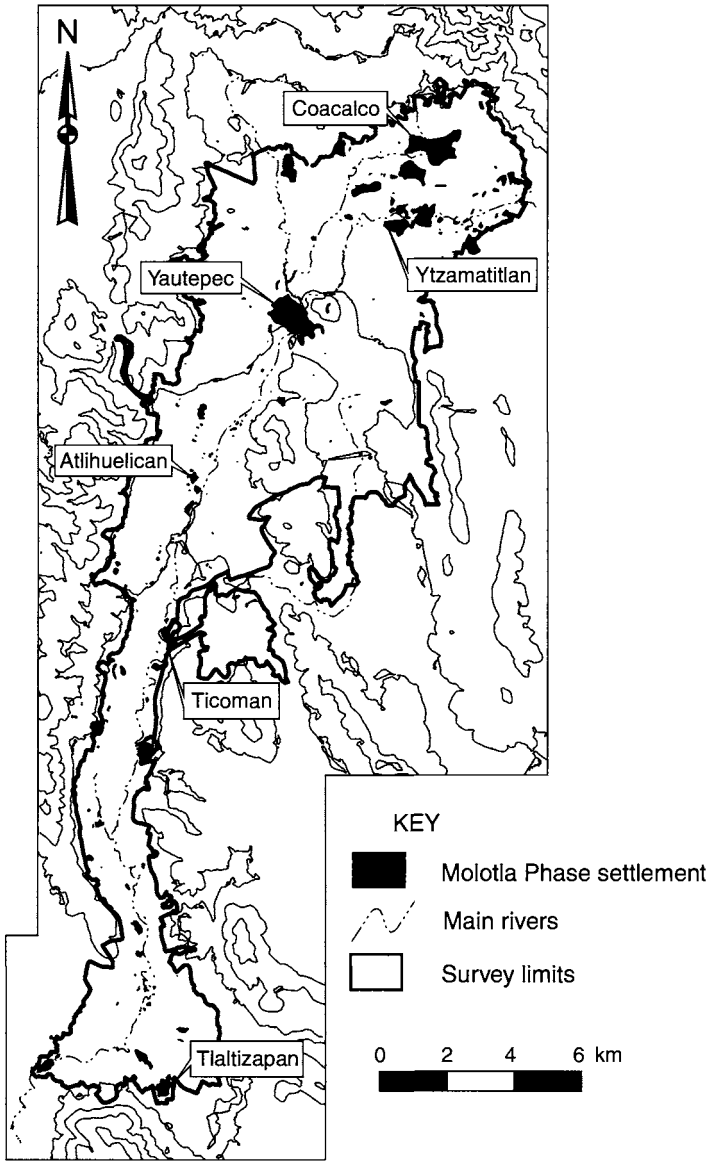

Figure 5.2 Map of the conquest state of Yautepec

(Hare and Smith 1997) to the sites and their boundaries (Hare *et al.* 1997).[1] As with the urban data, we have not been able to find a close correspondence between the archaeological and ethnohistorical records for the higher settlement levels.

The regional survey revealed a wide range of settlement size between the numerous small isolated residences and the largest settlement, the *altepetl* capital of Yautepec. Rank-size plots and settlement histograms provide subjective evidence for the presence of discrete settlement levels within the Yautepec Valley. The rank-size plot of Molotla phase (AD 1430–1521) settlement is a convex distribution reflecting the growth of many separate polities of relatively equal size.[2] The capital of Yautepec was the largest settlement in the valley, but other *altepetl* capitals are larger than predicted by the rank-size rule. The histograms of Molotla phase settlements indicate that a number of settlement levels may have existed between Yautepec, the political center of the valley, and the many isolated residences and hamlets. The largest set of intermediate settlements, between 24 and 102 ha in area, were *altepetl* capitals that probably functioned as secondary centers. The second tier of settlements on the rank-size plot, between 5 and 24 ha, probably represents a third settlement level. By the Molotla phase, the Yautepec Valley settlement hierarchy consisted of three or more levels.

Nahuatl language census documents

Ethnohistorical sources provide another perspective on settlement organization. Several native language census documents from Morelos are among the earliest census documents in the New World and provide a broad range of information on community organization, household composition, tribute systems, and land-use. The Morelos censuses describe six communities from two different polities, provide detailed information on ward divisions, ward and sub-ward membership, household composition, land-use, tribute payments and labor tribute, and in some cases the number of structures occupied.

To date, the censuses of five communities have been completely transcribed, translated, and published (Cline 1993; Díaz Cadena 1978; Hinz *et al.* 1983). Summary data from these documents have been published by Pedro Carrasco (1964a, 1964b, 1971, 1976a, 1976b). Other studies of these sources include McCaa (1994, 1996) and Smith (1993). I compiled kinship charts for each household, demographic data, tribute payments, land-use, emic settlement categories, and data on relationships between households and between communities from these five documents.

Other census documents

I supplement the Morelos census documents with two censuses from other parts of central Mexico. The *Santa María Asunción* and *Codex Vergara* documents from Tepetlaoztoc in the eastern Valley of Mexico provide information that is comparable, but less detailed, than that in the Morelos census documents. The Tepetlaoztoc documents describe a single large ward

within a single polity and include data on household composition, land-use, and ward-divisions (Harvey 1986; Williams 1991, 1994; Williams and Harvey 1988). Barbara Williams (1994) has published an analysis comparing these documents to archaeological sites located by Jeffrey Parsons' (1971) regional survey of the Texcoco region. I also use the *Matrícula de Huezotzinco*, from Huezotzinco located to the east of the Valley of Mexico (Brumfiel 1987). Although this document provides less detailed information than the other sources, it shows the sizes of several large polities in central Mexico. The *Matrícula de Huezotzinco* is dated to AD 1560 and describes twenty-four communities, over nine thousand household heads, and includes information on civil status, residential ward, and profession.

The Aztec settlement hierarchy

Altepemeh

Any analysis of settlement organization in Aztec central Mexico must be placed in the context of *altepemeh*. The *altepetl* was a territorial unit that included both rural and urban settlements and functioned as the fundamental unit of Nahua social organization (Haskett 1991; Hicks 1986; Licate 1980; Lockhart 1992). The *altepetl* consisted of a territory, named components, and a *tlahtoani* or ruler (Lockhart 1992: 15–20). The capital urban center of an *altepetl* usually shared the name with the polity, was the largest settlement, and was the site of the main *altepetl* temple and central marketplace. Ethnohistorical sources from throughout central Mexico indicate that *altepemeh* were divided into barrios or communities called *calpolli* or *tlaxilacalli* (Mulhare 1996). As with *altepemeh*, *calpolli* were territorial units with internal divisions or wards, and had their own ruler (*teuctli*). Lockhart (1992: 18–19) describes several examples of *altepemeh* with set numbers of *calpolli*, each with their own name, ruler, territory, god, and temple.

Previous ethnohistorical research, suggests that rulership of the *calpolli* and *altepemeh* was usually inherited and that the *calpolli* lords (*teteuctin*) and *altepemeh* kings (*tlahtoque*) were the heads of noble lineages. A *tlahtoani* administered the *altepetl* from his palace, which was typically located on the central plaza near the temple. *Teteuctin* administered their *calpolli* from a noble house (*tecpan*) within their *calpolli*. Both types of rulers directed a variety of officials including those involved in labor drafts, tribute extraction, and general political and religious administration (Berdan 1982; Hicks 1982; Offner 1983). Commoners lived within *calpolli* or were attached to lands controlled by nobles. Land was distributed to commoners in return for tribute goods or services, such as work on noble's lands, and labor in the *tecpan* and the military (Hicks 1986).

Altepemeh were corporate bodies that were integrated along social, political, ideological, and economic dimensions. Not only was the *altepetl* the focus

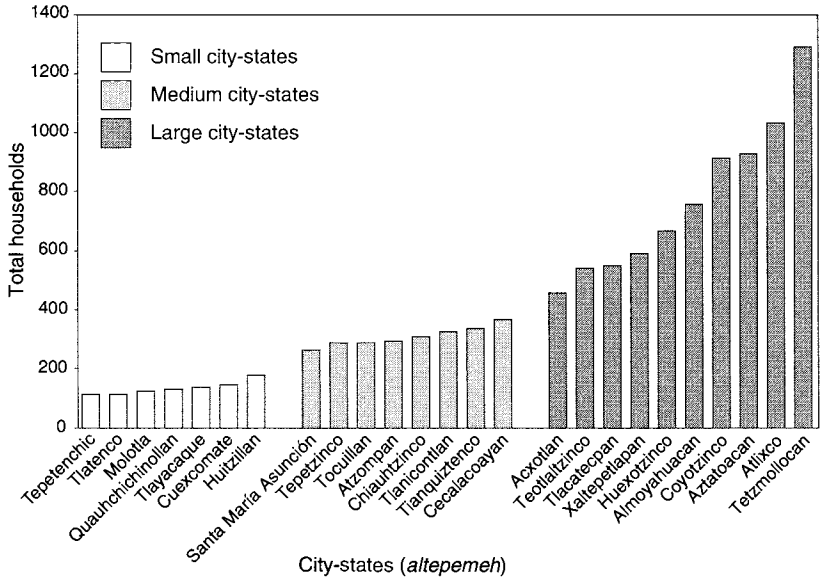

Figure 5.3 Histogram of the total number of households in city-states with early colonial census documents showing size–category membership

of ethnic identity, forming a basic social and territorial network, but the *altepetl* was defined as the extent of the land and authority of its *tlahtoani*. In addition, the *altepetl* was integrated by its marketplaces. Although the Mexica had begun to meddle in the market system of the Valley of Mexico as part of their imperial reorganization of the core area (Blanton 1996), it is unlikely that this had happened in surrounding areas like Morelos. Market areas in Morelos may have defined zones of material culture similar to those that Skinner (1964, 1977) described for traditional China, and this hypothesis will be tested in our continuing analysis of the Yautepec survey data.

The *altepemeh* in my dataset averaged 446 households and ranged from 119 to 1,287 households. The archaeological and ethnohistorical data both suggest that the term *altepemeh* encompassed a highly variable system of settlement levels. The histogram of the number of households in the largest settlements in our archaeological and ethnohistorical datasets shows three levels of *altepemeh* size (Figure 5.3). Some independent *altepemeh* are the size of individual *calpolli* in larger *altepemeh*. The size of the larger *calpolli* in Morelos, such as the *tlahtoani's calpolli* in Tepoztlan, suggests that many of the communities listed in the *Matrícula de Huezotzinco* are medium to large *calpolli* in the polity of Huezotzinco. On the other hand it is also possible that the communities within Huezotzinco are individual *altepemeh* within a conquest-state or regional confederation.

Hierarchical relationships may have existed not only between settlement levels but also within settlement levels. For instance, it is possible that a hierarchy existed among the *altepemeh*. The sizes of political units within Huezotzinco varied considerably, suggesting multiple levels within a single settlement category. Similarly, the *altepemeh* in Morelos vary from large in the north to so small in the south that they were equivalent in size to or smaller than the *calpolli* of the northern *altepemeh*.

Calpolli

The ethnohistorical documents describe a hierarchical system of settlement organization within *altepemeh* including individual households, patio groups, sub-wards, and wards. Large wards, often referred to as *calpolli* or *tlaxilacalli*, average 274 households and 1,752 people, and range from fifty-three to 549 households. There is great variation in the sizes of settlements included in both the ethnohistorical and archaeological samples described here (Table 5.1). The existence of *calpolli* that are equivalent in size to some *altepemeh* has many implications for settlement organization and political inequality on a regional scale. The largest *calpolli* in the Morelos census documents is Tlacatecpan, a major barrio in the *altepetl* of Tepoztlan. This may be a reflection of Tepoztlan's status as a one of the largest polities in Morelos. The two other *calpolli* in the Morelos censuses, Molotla and Tepetenchic, are probably from the conquest-state of Yautepec and may be urban *calpolli*. Given the archaeological estimate of the total population of Yautepec at 10,000, as many as ten other *calpolli* may have been present. Huitzillan and Quauhchichinollan were independent *altepemeh* but were roughly equivalent in size to the two, possibly urban, *calpolli* of Yautepec.

Table 5.1 Variability in the sizes of small wards, large wards, and *altepemeh*

Spatial level	*Classification and type*	*Number of households*			
		Mean	*Range*	*Standard deviation*	*N*
VI	Complex *altepemeh*	9628	0	0	1
	City-states or *altepemeh*				
Vc	Large	1040	913–1287	170	4
Vb	Medium	435	287–753	160	12
Va	Small	140	119–180	26	4
	Wards or *calpolli/tlaxilacalli*				
IVc	Major	240	116–549	180	6
IVb	Intermediate	120	22–348	118	7
IVa	Minor	90	53–134	34	4
III	Sub-wards or *chinamitl*	17	1–47	13	44

Note: Types were determined by cluster analysis and analysis of histograms of household counts.

Sub-wards

The documents from Tlacatecpan, Tepetenchic, Huitzillan, and Santa María Asunción describe another level of settlement I refer to as the sub-ward or *chinamitl*. Sub-wards are small, average twenty-one households and ninety-six people, and range from one to forty-seven households. Sub-wards are sometimes individually named or numbered. While the documents do not mention sub-wards for all settlements, the differences in ward size at communities that do not describe sub-wards suggests that some pattern of sub-wards may have existed. Archaeological data from Cuexcomate and Capilco support the conclusion that sub-wards were a common characteristic of Aztec settlement structure. Houses at the site of Cuexcomate are distributed in clusters that roughly compare in size with the sub-wards at several ethnohistorically known settlements. Similarly, Capilco, which is probably related in some way to Cuexcomate, is roughly the size of the sub-wards described in the documentary sources. In almost all cases the first sub-ward described in a major ward is the largest, especially in those cases that mention a *cacique* or *tlahtoani* as the head of the ward. In most cases the wards tend to decrease in size in order of their listing in the documents. In the *Santa María Asunción* document the last set of very small wards listed at Tepetlaoztoc ranges in size from patio groups up to the size of sub-wards described in the Morelos census documents. These wards may be members of a sub-ward or they may be independently attached to the *Santa María Asunción calpolli* (Williams 1991).

Based on the variability in the sizes in the census documents of *altepemeh*, *calpolli*, and sub-wards, a number of interpretations may be suggested for the archaeological site of Cuexcomate. Cuexcomate could be either a *calpolli* or a small *altepetl*. A brief spatial examination of the settlement suggests the existence of three macro-clusters that could be sub-wards (Smith 1993). If Cuexcomate was an *altepetl* the macro-clusters might have been independently attached to the *altepetl*. However, if Cuexcomate was a *calpolli*, the macro-clusters could be classified as sub-wards of the *calpolli*, reflecting an additional level of settlement hierarchy. It is also possible that the three clusters of households located around the *tecpan* and temple at Cuexcomate comprised a separate major ward from the small, possibly independent, ward of Capilco. Sub-wards, however, do not appear in all the census documents. Only large wards without smaller subdivisions are recorded for Huiznahuac and Tlancomolco, although these communities might have contained smaller wards that were simply not recorded by census-takers.

One way to analyze the connections between different settlement levels in particular communities is to construct a hierarchical chart of the settlement structure within polities. For instance, two different schematic representations of the organization of Huitzillan can be constructed. Figure 5.4 is based on the assumption that sub-wards are a standard characteristic

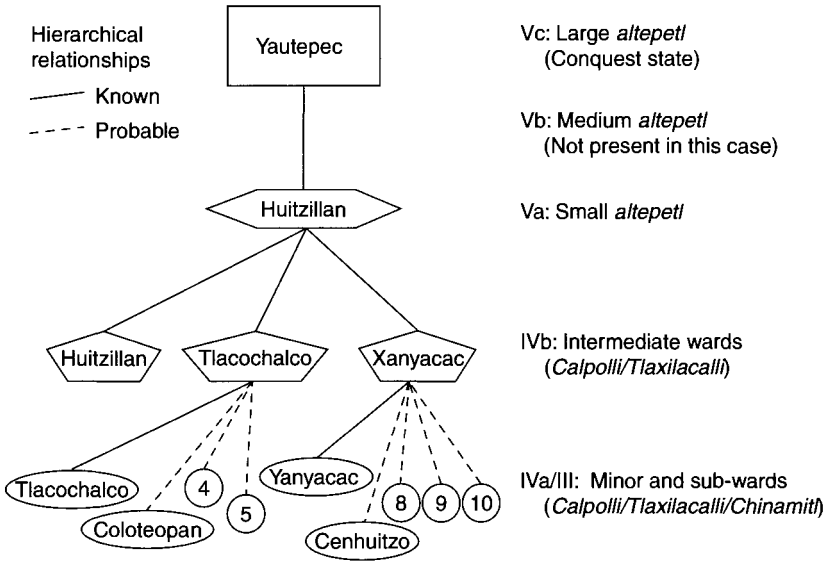

Figure 5.4 Schematic representation of community organization at Huitzillan

of Nahua community organization. If this assumption does not hold true a different schematic should be drawn removing some of the sub-wards from attachment to major wards and shifting their links directly to the small *altepetl* itself.

Calli *and patio groups*

The high degree of variability that characterizes *altepemeh*, *calpolli*, and sub-wards is also present at the household level. The high variability in household composition causes the population per household by community not to be correlated (Kendall's tau-c is –0.068, significant at the 0.01 level). In the Morelos census documents, individual households (*calli*) and patio groups have an average population of 7.8 (with a standard deviation of 3.48), encompass one or more residential structures, and often include more than one nuclear family.

Wealth and status among households and patio groups were also highly variable. Both ethnohistorical and archaeological data point to the existence of two kinds of variations in wealth and status: class differences and wealth differences within classes. Although the noble class is clearly differentiated in many Nahuatl documents (Lockhart 1992), nobles are not always distinguished by term or title in the Morelos census documents. Nevertheless, the lists for each significant social division usually begin with the

family of the noble or official in charge of that division. These chief households had more members (family members and servants) and more wealth than other households. Similarly, there are clear divisions between the residences of nobles and commoners at both Cuexcomate (Smith 1992, 1994b) and Yautepec (Smith *et al.* 1994). The palaces of nobles were larger than commoner houses by an order of magnitude and employed more costly materials and construction techniques, including greater use of stone, lime plaster, and wall murals.

The documents and archaeological remains also reveal considerable household variability of wealth within social classes. In the settlements covered in the Morelos census documents, the mean amount of agricultural land per household is 5.41 ha, the standard deviation is 41.2 ha, and the range is zero to 611 ha. These figures might provide a good index of household wealth (Carrasco 1964b). The quantity of agricultural land between communities is also highly variable. The *altepetl* of Quauhchichinollan has the smallest mean area of agricultural land per household with only 0.2 ha versus the *calpolli* of Tepetenchic with 15.6 ha of agricultural land per household. One possible explanation for this disparity could be the type of available agricultural land in the vicinity of each community. Quauhchichinollan is located near good irrigable land and hence less land would be required to support a household. Tepetenchic may be located in an area where agricultural land is limited to floodwater irrigation, requiring larger areas brought under cultivation. Despite the possible impact of land types, the presence of great variation in the amount of land per household within individual sub-wards suggests that even after controlling for land type, the quantity of land per household is still a useful measure of wealth and access to resources.

Within individual settlements and *altepemeh*, the magnitude of tribute is highly correlated with the size of agricultural plots. Although tribute payments per household have a smaller standard of deviation than agricultural land, their variability suggests that tribute may also provide an index of differences in wealth or status. In fact, the quantity of land per household is strongly correlated with the tribute payments[3] per household (Pearson's correlation coefficient of 0.90, significant at the 0.01 level). In contrast, population per household is not correlated with either of these variables. The lack of correlation suggests that wealth was not determined by the life-cycles of Nahua households. In other words, as household population increased, the amount of land under cultivation and quantity of tribute paid did not increase.

Nahua modularity

James Lockhart (1992) advocates an emic perspective on community organization for Prehispanic and colonial Nahuatl-speaking peoples of central

Mexico. Lockhart extracts this perspective from colonial ethnohistorical documents and extends the approach to all aspects of Nahua life, encompassing family organization, religious practice, artistic expression, language, political organization, and community structure. Lockhart argues that Nahua polities are composed of relatively equal components at all levels.

> The Nahua manner of creating larger constructs, whether in politics, society, economy, or art, tended to place emphasis on a series of relatively equal, relatively separate and self-contained constituent parts of the whole, the unity of which consisted in the symmetrical numerical arrangement of the parts, their identical relationship to a common reference point, and their orderly, cyclical rotation.
>
> (Lockhart 1992: 15)

Lockhart calls this concept Nahua modularity. If this model accurately describes Nahua emic perceptions of community, then settlement organization should exhibit some corresponding characteristics. Archaeological expressions of Nahua modularity could include:

1 Modular domestic architectural arrangements such as patio groups.
2 The symmetrical grouping of domestic architecture into larger units.
3 The symmetrical grouping of clusters of domestic architecture.
4 Spatially limited distributions of artifacts specific to individual *calpolli* and *altepemeh*.
5 Modular systems of tribute and administrative institutions.
6 Many nucleated rural settlements as opposed to primate urban centers.

As can be seen from the discussion of *altepemeh*, *calpolli*, sub-wards, and *calli*, Aztec settlement organization to some extent conforms to the characteristics of Nahua modularity. Many small, relatively equal modules of *calli* are systematically grouped into increasingly larger, but still relatively equal, units up to the level of the *altepetl*. *Altepemeh* encompass a continuous territory composed of "relatively equal, relatively separate and self-contained constituent parts" (Lockhart 1992: 15). Census documents frequently mention multiple levels of community organization, and within community levels, units are commonly ordered and in some cases numbered.

Settlement systems based on the concept of Nahua modularity do not necessarily correspond to political or economic hierarchies that focus on multiple levels of settlements, each subordinated directly to a paramount urban center. Hierarchical relations exist between levels of modular groups such as *calli*, *calpolli*, and *altepemeh*, but modules do not necessarily represent single discrete settlements. For instance, *calli* within a particular *calpolli* may include a variety of settlement types and be distributed both within

dominant centers and in rural areas. These modules should not be defined as hierarchically organized settlements dominated by a political center but as relatively equal units that unite to form larger units, ultimately composing complete polities. Frederick Hicks describes the result of Nahua modularity for Tetzcoco in the Basin of Mexico.

> I believe the entire area within Tetzcoco's political boundaries, an area of nearly 80 km^2, must be considered as the city. It had a densely settled "downtown" area, which contained the royal palaces, the temple area, the section centers, and institutions closely and permanently associated with one or another of these. It also had a residential area, where most of the people who worked in and depended upon the "downtown" area lived. This residential area had a rather dispersed settlement pattern, with groups of houses built among cultivated fields. It had to be this way because of the rather unusual form that occupational specialization and compensation for labor took in Aztec Mexico. In the first place, most labor was compensated not with a money wage but with land that the workers farmed for their subsistence. In the second place, much agricultural labor, whether skilled or unskilled, was part-time, delivered through the *tequitl* system, as it had been in order to leave the workers time to work their land.
>
> (Hicks 1982: 244)

Not everyone, however, is convinced that the Nahua modularity model is a viable approach for organizing settlement systems and polities. Barbara Price (1977: 217, cited in Hicks 1982: 254) "has expressed doubt that an area this large could have functioned as a single community. In the absence of modern forms of transport and communication, she believes, urbanized situations tend to involve sharply increasing internal densities rather than urban sprawl."

Hicks responds to such criticism by addressing the political, religious, and economic systems associated with the Nahua modularity model.

> I suggest that Tetzcoco was able to function as a single community while retaining its "urban sprawl" by three means: (1) the requirement that many of the *macehualtin*, of all parts of the area, give periodic labor service in the politico-religious center; (2) periodic religious ceremonies held in this center, designed to attract the people as spectators if not as participants and thus give them a sense of community identity, and (3) the market, which was located in the palace enclosure, where all exchange among the people of the city was supposed to take place.
>
> (Hicks 1982: 245)

There are multiple possible spatial patterns that could be manifested by a society with a cultural model of community organization such as Nahua modularity. One pattern is that within any polity the major components or *calpolli* could be primarily confined to either urban or rural areas without considerable urban/rural overlap within an individual *calpolli*. Urban *calpolli* would be spatially contiguous units (i.e., discrete communities within the larger urban center), while rural *calpolli* would be composed of isolated households, hamlets, or small towns. In contrast, it is possible that *calpolli* crosscut urban and rural zones. In this case, *calpolli* may still be spatially contiguous units but with areas of unused or agricultural land separating multiple clusters within each *calpolli*. Finally, it is also possible that individual *calpolli* crosscut urban and rural zones as well as each other. In this pattern, *calpolli* would be spatially discontinuous units within a mosaic of unused land, agricultural land, and other *calpolli* would be separating multiple related clusters.

Ethnohistorical evidence

Despite the various possible spatial patterns that could result from the Nahua cultural perspective on community organization, the concept of Nahua modularity corresponds with the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence and helps explain Aztec settlement organization. Throughout Mesoamerica, most settlements lack the density of western urban centers (Sanders and Webster 1988), and Aztec polities do not seem to have had dense centralized urban units that administered surrounding subordinated settlements. The political center of a polity is the head household of the head *calpolli* and the tribute component of the economic system was administered through the head households of *calpolli*, sub-wards, and patio groups.

The ethnohistorical depiction of ordered groupings of relatively equal units into successively larger groups suggests the existence of a segmentary settlement organization. The primary building block is the household in that sets of households were organized into larger sets. These sets were organized into larger sets, ultimately being given the names of *calpolli* or *tlaxilacalli*. The *altepetl* was composed of a sequentially ordered set of these largest-level settlement categories. The first major ward was often the largest, but the primary difference between the first ward and subsequent wards is the existence of a *tlahtoani* or *teuctli* in the first house. In the documents, the difference between the primary and subsequent wards is often apparent in the ordering of units and the titles given to the ward heads (such as *tlahtoani*). The amount of agricultural land used by the household and the quantity of tribute payments may also indicate the difference between the primary and secondary polities.

These wards or sub-wards were often numbered in sequential order. The general model implied by the ethnohistorical data is one of several house-

hold groups headed by a governor or tribute manager, each comprising a relatively equal portion of the total polity. The first unit in the sequential ordering tends to be the head of the group at all settlement levels including major wards, wards, and sub-wards as well as medium and small *altepemeh*. The census documents depict a system of multiple relatively equal components that are aggregated together to form larger units. Hence, the "ideal" Nahua system of community organization begins with relatively equal household units, bound within relatively equal sub-wards, bound within relatively equal wards or *calpolli*, bound within relatively equal *altepemeh*, and finally bound within relatively equal complex polities such as Lockhart (1992: 21–3; see also Gibson 1952) describes for Tlaxcala.

While Nahua modularity depicts a segmentary settlement system, it does not correspond to a segmentary lineage or segmentary state system.[4] The segmentary lineage model has been discussed by a number of Mayanists and some argue that it describes Classic period lowland Mayan society (Carmack 1981; Carmack and Weeks 1981; Dunham 1990; Fox 1987, 1989; Fox *et al.* 1996; McAnany 1995). The segmentary models suggest that the aggregating groups should be lineages or some other type of descent group. While it was long believed that *calpolli* were corporate groups (Kurtz 1978; Rounds 1979) similar to those currently postulated for the Maya Lowlands (Fox *et al.* 1996; McAnany 1995), there is no evidence that wards or sub-wards in central Mexico were composed of lineages, conical clans, or any other type of descent group.[5] Hence, the concept of Nahua modularity must be differentiated from segmentary models in which kin-based groups form the basis of settlement organization (Carrasco 1984; Lockhart 1992).

The ideal Nahua modularity model also differs significantly from the empirical cases discussed here. For instance, the documents depict considerable variability in household and sub-ward composition and settlement mobility. Numerous individuals and groups, both free and enslaved, are mentioned as moving between settlements, wards, and *altepemeh*. Furthermore, Nahua modularity assumes that relatively equal units existed in aggregate at levels from households to regional polities, and that these aggregates formed consistent sociopolitical units throughout central Mexico. A quick survey of both the archaeological and ethnohistorical data presented in this paper demonstrates a high degree of variation in household, sub-ward, *calpolli*, and *altepemeh* organization and composition. In fact, these relatively equal units differ in size and composition between regions as well as between settlements that are members of the same *altepemeh*. Household composition differed greatly between communities in the Morelos census documents. Similarly, the composition of larger community units was highly variable between communities. In Tepoztlan, a single ward was larger than the entire *altepemeh* of Huitzillan and Quauhchichinollan. Obviously the nature of spatial units such as *calpolli* and *altepetl* varied in different areas. Similarly, the evidence for stratification indicates significant differences

between communities. In the census documents from Morelos and Tepetlaoztoc, the quantity of land and tribute payment per household differs greatly between communities, within wards, and even within sub-wards. Despite the evidence that confirms the concept of Nahua modularity as an emic organizing factor in community organization, settlement organization is much more flexible and complex than might be predicted.

Archaeology and Aztec settlement organization

Given the rich ethnohistorical data on Aztec settlement organization, the question must be asked: would the Nahua modularity model result in archaeologically identifiable patterns? While this question requires greater investigation, the current data indicate that the Nahua modularity model produces distinct archaeological patterns. The Nahuatl perspective downplays the significance of urban settlements as social institutions in Aztec society. This perspective directs our attention instead to the regional configuration of wards, and their aggregation in *altepemeh*. The point of view in the documents fits well with Smith's model of rural social complexity in the Aztec period based on archaeological remains (1994b). Briefly, he has criticized traditional archaeological views of urbanism for their invariant association between the concepts of social complexity and urbanism, and for their overemphasis on rural–urban distinctions (Smith 1994b). The traditional view leads to the notion that non-urban, or rural, areas must always be homogeneous societies that lack social complexity. A more fruitful approach is to investigate the regional configuration of the manifestations of social complexity, in both its vertical and horizontal dimensions (McGuire 1983), without the assumptions of the traditional view.

This approach to social complexity reveals significant variation among (and within) societies. For example, in Classic-period Basin of Mexico, there is little evidence for rural complexity because hierarchical political, economic, and social institutions were strongly nucleated in Teotihuacan (Sanders *et al.* 1979). The Aztec period, in contrast, witnessed considerable rural complexity. There were elites at rural sites, wealth variation within and between social classes, craft production and specialization in rural areas, a hierarchical settlement system, and a complex exchange system that linked even the most remote village into the Mesoamerican world system (Smith 1995). With many of the attributes of social complexity distributed across the landscape rather than concentrated in discrete urban centers, it is hardly surprising that Nahuatl peoples gave little prominence to urban settlements in their written records. Towns were important as the central settlements of their *altepetl*: they housed the palace of the *tlahtoani*, the temple of the patron god, and the main marketplace. However, apart from these institutions, towns were simply not very different from smaller settlements.

Communities

In order to apply the concept of community in Postclassic central Mexico one must reconstruct the full range of settlement organization and the nature of spatial and temporal variability. The archaeological data provide evidence for a complex hierarchy of settlements including houses, patio groups, villages, towns, and cities. While archaeological data, thus far, provide less information on heterarchical relations, the evidence for dispersed elite residences and production demonstrate the importance of an integrated reconstruction of both horizontal and vertical relations. The ethnohistorical data describe a complex network of both hierarchical and heterarchical relations that encompass households, patio groups, *calpolli*, *altepemeh*, confederations, and empires. These archaeological and ethnohistorical hierarchies correspond closely at the levels of households, patio groups, villages, and towns (Smith 1993), but diverge at levels beyond the town. This suggests that the lower settlement levels corresponded to significant social and cultural units, whereas urban settlements may not have been as important conceptually or socially in Aztec society. Some ethnohistorians, such as Lockhart (1992), argue that the fundamental social unit among the Nahuas of central Mexico was the *altepetl*, as a territory not an urban center, and perhaps this is the best referent for the concept "community" in Aztec times. However, this conclusion remains speculative. Even within a single society, it is problematic to identify the nature of the community and its organization prior to an integrated model of both hierarchical and heterarchical relations. Hence, defining a cross-culturally valid level of community organization may not be possible, nor desirable. Cross-cultural comparison of particular structural components and relations may be a more fruitful approach than attempting to apply the concept of "community."

Conclusions

A settlement system existed in Postclassic central Mexico that was more complex, both hierarchically and within levels, than has been previously acknowledged. Multiple levels of settlements and institutions with high levels of variation existed both within and between settlement levels. Figure 5.5 depicts my proposed model of Nahua hierarchical settlement and institutions.[6] The schematic includes the full range of levels and hierarchical relationships depicted in the archaeological and ethnohistorical datasets. All polities probably did not include all of the levels and relationships depicted in the schematic, but each *altepetl*'s structure was a subset of the institutions and relationships shown. Independent *altepemeh* could be variable in size but would not be linked politically to other *altepemeh*. *Calpolli* could be embedded within either larger *calpolli* or *altepemeh*. *Chinamitl* could be embedded within a *calpolli* or directly within an *altepemeh*. Any of these

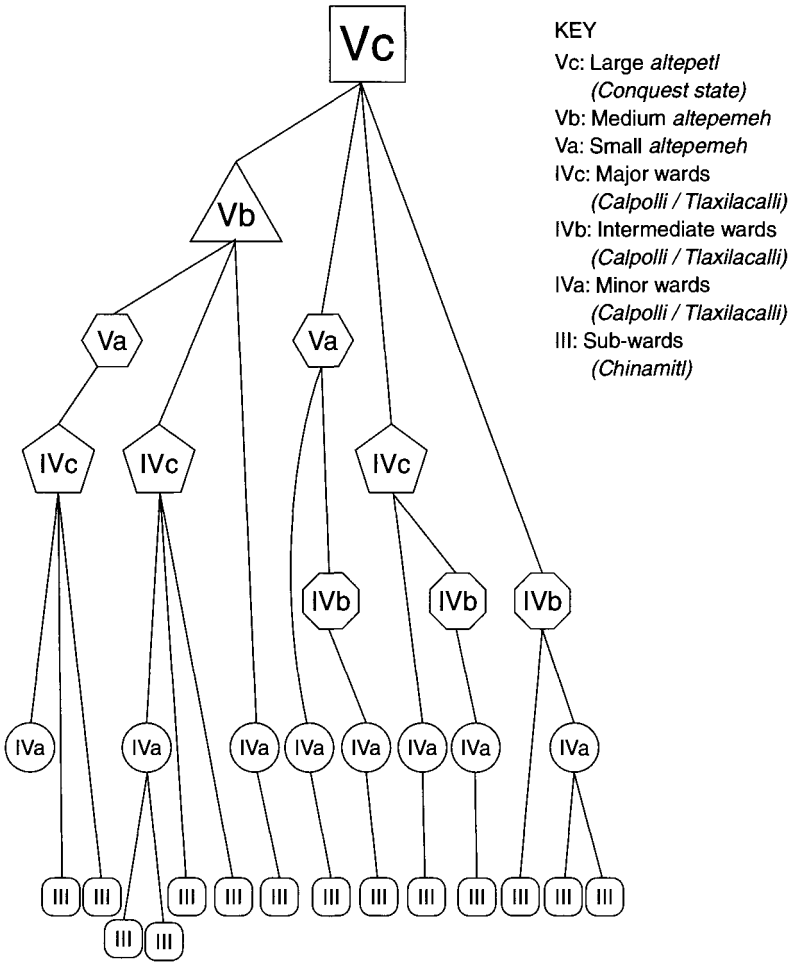

Figure 5.5 Schematic representation of spatial levels of community organization and possible hierarchical relationships between spatial levels

modules could be nested within larger units of the same type. My identification of three levels of *altepemeh* and *calpolli* does not rule out the possibility of further levels of modular nesting such as within complex *altepemeh* or empires. The observed complexity of the Nahua settlement and institutions may be the result of the rapid political expansion in central Mexico during the Late Postclassic period (AD 1350–1521). A more restricted range of settlement types and interrelationships may have existed at the founding of many of the *altepemeh* during the Middle Postclassic period (AD 1150–1350).

The great complexity of Aztec society leads me to conclude that sophisticated models of social, political, and economic organization that incorporate all settlement levels are necessary for explaining community organization in the past. Rank-size analysis and central place theory are the only explicit models for explaining complex systems of settlement organization that have been previously applied in Mesoamerica. Outside the realm of central place studies most discussions of Mesoamerican archaeological data address the reconstruction of changing settlement patterns and how they reflect long-term changes in political and economic systems. The proposed model of Nahua settlement and institutions provides a new foundation for explaining the structure and evolution of Aztec society from small independent *altepemeh* to the Aztec empire.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1 Hare and Smith (1997) constructed a new Postclassic and early Colonial chronology based on excavations from the urban center of Yautepec and using quantitative methods of seriation. We defined three phases for the Middle and Late Postclassic periods for the Yautepec Valley: Pochtla (AD 1150–1300), Atlan (AD 1300–1430), and Molotla (AD 1430–1521).

2 The rank-size rule was originally articulated by Zipf (1949) and states that the population of settlements is a function of the population of the largest settlement. This rule can be used to analyze spatial patterns of settlements graphically by arranging (ranking) sites from largest to smallest on one axis and plotting population size on the other axis. Rank-size plots can be displayed in a variety of ways, primarily depending on whether the axes are logged or not (Kowalewski 1982). Using appropriate datasets, rank-size plots can reveal different levels in a site hierarchy by grouping sites of similar size together (Hodder 1979).

3 To calculate the quantity of land per household I summed total land of all types. To calculate the quantity of tribute per household I summed cloth tribute of all types.
4 Segmentary lineage systems and the segmentary state are two separate but related concepts. Segmentary lineage systems have been described by many anthropologists (Leach 1964; Sahlins 1961). Southall proposed the existence of a segmentary state variant of the segmentary lineage model (Southall 1988a, 1988b, 1991) derived from African ethnohistory and ethnography. Both types of segmentary models address the tendency of organizational structures to divide into smaller, relatively equal components, under certain circumstances.
5 The traditional view of the *calpolli* was as an egalitarian kin group looking back to an original common ancestor (Kurtz 1978; Rounds 1979), but many studies reveal that *calpolli* were highly variable in organization (Carrasco 1971, 1976b; Hicks 1982; Lockhart 1992). *Calpolli* names include geographical features and ethnic groups, suggesting variation in the origins of different types of *calpolli*.
6 Although the connections depicted in Figure 5.5 show only hierarchical relations, a wide variety of relationships links all modules within each level.

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6

"CRAFTING" COMMUNITIES

The materialization of Formative Maya identities

Mary Lee Bartlett and Patricia A. McAnany

Introduction

Community affiliation, a sense of place, can be an important aspect of a personal or group identity. In modern times, we define ourselves and are, in turn, defined not only by characteristics such as job, education, and family, but also by the community in which we reside, our state, and nation. Each of these affiliations contributes to our understanding of ourselves and how we are viewed or wish to be viewed by others. Although any projection of contemporary motives and sentiments into the past can be controversial, many lines of evidence indicate that community identity, often materially encoded, has been an important feature of human culture throughout history (Jenkins 1996). Understanding the dynamics operational within communities provides a mechanism for understanding change within the overarching society (Arensberg 1961; Effrat 1974; Redfield 1956). The goal of this chapter is to examine the deeper history of Maya society, specifically the Formative period, for material evidence of community identity and place-making and the role that these play in the larger society.

Within Maya society, the significance of place is revealed in hieroglyphic texts from the Lowland Classic period as well as in Colonial-period writing. For example, in Colonial Yucatán, the community, or *cah*, appears to be the fundamental unit of Maya society linking political, economic and social action (Restall 1997: 13–40). Ethnohistoric research of this Colonial period by Ralph Roys (1939) reaffirms the important role of the community, particularly in legitimizing claims of ownership of tracts of land. Inga Clendinnen (1987) notes that the location of the village was so important to the Colonial Maya that even when forcibly moved by Spanish authorities, the inhabitants often would furtively return to rebuild their original village. In the deeper past, reference to place or location has been deciphered from hieroglyphic emblem glyphs (Berlin 1958). These references to place often

include specific characteristics of the surrounding landscape, such as hills or wetlands (Stuart and Houston 1994).

Community specific styles in textiles and pottery are one of the most striking features of highland Maya society. Although many of these unique community markers may either have been imposed by the Spanish or developed in response to Spanish control, some may be a continuation of Postclassic traditions. In the earlier Classic period (AD 250–800/1000), polychrome pottery seems to have encoded community- or polity-specific styles, and it contains textual references to names and places (Houston, Stuart, and Taube 1989; Reents-Budet 1994). The concept of pottery vessels as a medium of social identity, then, has a strong resonance in the Maya region. In this chapter, we suggest that the skill and creative repertoire for such community-based patterns of variation in craft production were drawn from traditions of considerable antiquity. This approach offers us an opportunity to expand the study of craft production beyond the identification of simple producers and consumers (Costin and Wright 1998). The very act of "crafting" is viewed as a powerful procreative force within many traditional societies (Helms 1993) and here we examine the intersecting meanings of "crafting" both as the forging of community identity and the production of pottery.

Over the past two decades, researchers have focused on the role of style as a medium for the communication of traditions and customs in addition to a mechanism for display of group membership (Hodder 1991; Morris 1995; Wiessner 1983, 1989, 1990; Wobst 1977). Stylistic behavior both promotes and verifies social integration, and at the same time, can manifest and validate social differentiation (Wobst 1977: 327). Ian Hodder (1991: 2) notes that social boundaries become more evident as competition between and among groups increases. Style can be used to define and maintain these boundaries both as an inclusionary device or as one denoting exclusion (Conkey 1989; Wright 1993). In this chapter, the distribution of crafted pottery attributes, specifically surface decoration and form, from four sites is examined to evaluate whether the plastic medium of pottery referenced community identity. We propose that the advent of community specific styles in the Late Formative period is one response to the increase in population, enlargement of sites, and the hierarchical trajectory of social complexity occurring throughout Formative Maya society.

In terms of monumental construction and mortuary ritual, the Late Formative appears to be a time of increasing institutionalization of authority and expression of social status (McAnany forthcoming). H. Martin Wobst (1977: 326) notes that "the amount of stylistic behavior should positively correlate with the size of the social networks that individuals participate in." Robert Preucel (this volume) notes that style markers identifying community affiliation provide material referents for the individual or group in the negotiation of a place within a social order. In this chapter, we

suggest that as the population increased and social hierarchies expanded in the Late Formative period, markers more strongly linked to place emerged as each community sought to establish its place and role within the evolving local landscape.

While the goal of this analysis is to re-create the social-cognitive landscape of four ancient Maya communities of northern Belize during the Middle and Late Formative periods (800 BC–AD 100/250), the methods utilized are both quantitative (petrography and neutron activation analysis) and qualitative (comparative stylistic analysis). We identify zones of clay procurement for pottery production to provide supporting evidence for local production and isolate specific clusters of stylistic attributes distinct to each of four communities: K'axob (McAnany 1995), Cuello (Hammond 1991c), Colha (Hester 1979), and Cerros (Freidel 1991).

Communities and crafts of the Maya Late Formative period

The Maya appeared to have settled in northern Belize sometime after 1200 BC, initially in small settlements consisting of simple pole and thatch dwellings (Hammond 1991a; McAnany and López Varela 1999; Willey 1977). Evidence of social differentiation is present but not pronounced during the subsequent Middle Formative period (1000/800–400 BC). Burials of men, women, and children were placed under the floors of houses and generally contained few burial goods. Subsistence strategies appear to have been diversified with farming supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gathering – much as occurs in modern Maya villages.

During the course of the Late Formative period, the elaboration of dwellings from simple dirt-floor houses to residential platforms with structures arranged around a patio suggests the development of regional site hierarchies and social complexity. Monumental architecture also appears during the course of the Formative period. At El Mirador and Nakbe in the Petén, huge structures were constructed possibly as early as 600 BC (Hansen 1990, 1992; Matheny 1980, 1987). The central precinct at El Mirador covered a 2 sq. km area and public works projects included the building of causeways joining sites 20 km apart (Matheny 1987). At the four sites under discussion, variable investments in monumental architecture occurred also, albeit on a smaller scale.

Burial practices reflected increased emphasis on social status during the Late Formative period. At Cuello, an earlier tradition of simple interments for all family members was replaced by the burial of selected individuals, predominately men, in walled crypts covered with capstones (Robin 1989: 22). At Cuello, Colha, and K'axob, processed human remains in the form of body bundles, possibly those of ancestors, were increasingly re-interred with primary individuals in rituals closely related

to architectural renovations (McAnany *et al.* 1999). A pertinent example from Cuello includes two male individuals surrounded by approximately thirty such bundles (Robin and Hammond 1991: 210–25). At both K'axob and Cuello, the significance of these bundled interments as something beyond ritual human sacrifice is indicated by associated burial goods, which include unique ceramic vessels and carved bone ornaments.

Ceramic forms of the earlier Middle Formative period are variable, but the formation techniques, use of clay resources, and paste modifications appear relatively uniform (Angelini 1998; Shepard 1939). The period is identified by the Mamom ceramic sphere that often is linked stylistically to the pottery of more distant locales such as El Salvador and the Gulf and Pacific Coasts (López Varela 1996; Pring 1977; Smith and Gifford 1965). In effect, both local and external influences are expressed in Mamom pottery. The most common type of slipped pottery was a monochrome red called Joventud Red, but unslipped wares, bichromes, and resist surface treatments are also in evidence at most sites.

Late Formative ceramics, at least superficially, appear more homogenous than do those of the Middle Formative period (Gifford 1976). This period is marked by the widespread distribution of a ceramic type known as Sierra Red, a monochrome redware present at virtually every site from Chiapas in the west to the Caribbean coast in the east. This waxy redware, an outgrowth of the earlier Joventud Red, is the major constituent of the Chicanel ceramic sphere which also includes striated vessels and large, generally thick-walled, serving vessels which were probably intended for large ceremonial or extended family gatherings (Angelini 1998; Robertson-Freidel 1980). Spouted jars are common within the Chicanel ceramic sphere as well as vessels featuring a streaky red surface finish, Society Hall Red, which appears to be a localized northern Belizean development in the latter part of the Late Formative period.

The apparent uniformity in the ceramic surface treatment of the Sierra Red type attests to closely linked interaction spheres. This conclusion has been reinforced by type–variety analysis of the temporal and geographic distributions of a range of ceramic traits. Efficacious in this regard, the emphasis on similarities within type–variety classification, nevertheless, has ignored local variation. As this study will show, complete vessels from the four study communities (K'axob, Cuello, Colha, and Cerros) located within a 75 km radius display "eye-catching" differences not only in vessel size and form, but also in surface finish. Particular attention is given to variations of spouted vessels and in forms and surface features of the large serving vessels, variations that first appeared in the Late Formative period. These forms seem to be the forerunners of the unique, possibly community-affiliated, polychrome vessels that mark the Classic period.

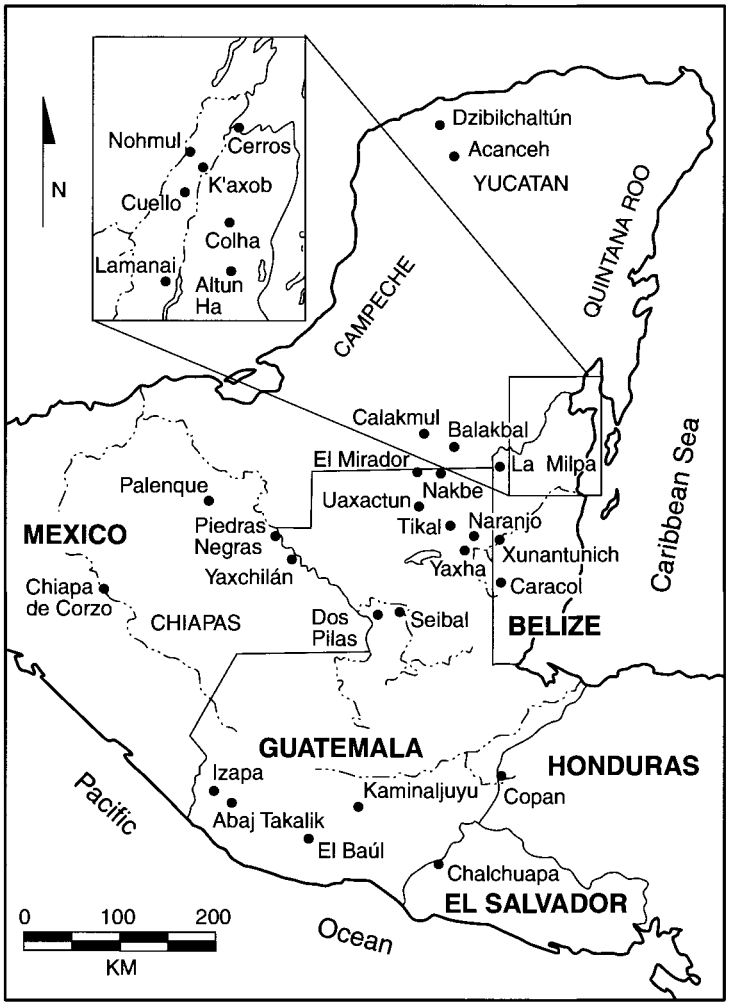


Figure 6.1 Formative-period sites in northern Belize discussed in text

A tale of four communities

The four Formative sites that comprise this study are located in northern Belize (Figure 6.1), an area known for its early and dense Formative occupation. The sites of K'axob, Cuello, Cerros, and Colha each fill a distinct politico-economic niche. K'axob, the smallest of the four study sites, was an agricultural community located in an area of alluvial deposition between Pulltrouser Swamp and the Río Nuevo. Cuello, situated on higher ground between the Río Nuevo and the Río Hondo, appears to be the oldest of

these settlements. It was a "middle-sized town" with a population of approximately 2,100 to 2,600 by the Late Formative period (Wilk and Wilhite 1991: 132). Cerros, the largest of the four sites, has been described as a "temple town" (Freidel 1986). Located near the mouth of the Río Nuevo along the coast of Chetumal Bay, Cerros occupies a headland adjacent to Corozal Bay that was strategic for trading activity. Finally, Colha was a specialized craft community that, by the Late Formative period, was a town of medium size on the edge of Cobweb Swamp (Hester 1979; Valdez 1987). Situated within a chert-bearing zone, this site was a center for stone tool production and distribution by the Late Formative period (Hester 1979; Valdez 1987).

K'axob, located between the two large Formative centers of Nohmul and San Estevan, was first settled in the early part of the Middle Formative period (approximately 800 to 600 BC [McAnany and López Varela 1999]). By AD 200 the site had grown in area, reflecting an increased population, and a small civic-ceremonial center had been constructed over a layering of Middle and Late Formative residences and burials. Some residences had expanded to include extended-family compounds built on basal platforms with interior plazas.

Cuello, like other sites in northern Belize, began as a small village with simple residential construction of pole and thatch residences around central patios (Hammond 1991a: 239). Early in the Late Formative period, the older buildings were destroyed and a massive platform was constructed at the site center on top of a mass burial that included interments with distinctive ceramics and carved bone pendants incised with the *pop* motif, a symbol linked to elites in the Classic period (Hammond 1991b: 182). Construction of a pyramid in this area at the end of the Formative period suggests that by this time Cuello was serving as a local ritual and political center.

Cerros existed as a centralized community from *c.* 350 BC to AD 150 (Freidel 1978, 1986; Robertson 1986). Initial settlement consisted of a nucleated village with small platforms. By 50 BC, the central zone featured three major plaza and pyramid groups with a dispersed surrounding settlement (Freidel 1986). The elaboration of architecture, particularly the placement of stucco masks on the front of pyramidal Str.-5C-2nd, is accompanied by evidence of increasingly complex ritual activity suggesting the institutionalization of authority (Freidel 1986; Freidel and Schele 1988).

Colha, as a specialist community, served a different function from its contemporary Maya settlements. An abundance of chert from surface outcrops surrounding the site possibly facilitated the development of a stone tool industry that produced bifaces probably used in agriculture, tranchet bits, stemmed macroblades, and prismatic blades (Shafer and Hester 1983). Colha chert tools are found throughout northern Belize including the sites of K'axob (McAnany 1986, 1989), Cerros (Mitchum 1986), and Cuello (McSwain 1991).

These four Late Formative Maya sites have strong parallels in pottery tradition, mortuary rituals, residential structures, and monumental constructions, but they exhibit distinctive characteristics linked to their specific locale, societal role, and size. One of the most understudied aspects of this variability, however, is the distinctive pottery traditions developed by the Late Formative artisans at each of the four communities. This element of community variation will be addressed by analyzing the differences apparent in the ceramics from each site.[1]

Variation in pottery style

Colha: spouted vessels with strap handles

Spouted vessels, present at all four sites, provide marked evidence of site-specific variability. At Cerros, no complete spouted vessels were excavated and the few broken spouts found were not from ritual deposits (Robertson 1983). In contrast, at Colha elaborate spouted jars with strap handles were recovered primarily from burial deposits (Figure 6.2a). Valdez (1987) notes that strap handles are not reported for any other northern Belizean sites. Unlike spouted vessels at the other sites, Colha vessels are more likely to be black slipped. Red stucco over black slipping was another distinctive feature. Forms not reported present at other sites include fluting with indentations reminiscent of a pumpkin and a round body with a narrow neck. A few were decorated with incising.

At Cuello, the form of the spouted vessels is different again, being less elaborate and somewhat squat in appearance and they lack handles or incising (Figure 6.2b). The spouted vessels of K'axob are quite variable. An early spouted jar (K'atabche'kax complex) is a duck effigy. The handle is modeled to represent a duck head, wings are incised on the body, and the spout represents a tail (Figure 6.2c). In contrast, a miniature spouted vessel, finished with a Society Hall Red streaky slip, has three small handles and no design patterning.

K'axob: the cross motif and gadrooning

If Colha is marked by strap-handle spouted vessels, the other three sites are characterized by distinguishable surface treatments and forms as well. The particular design pattern unique to the Formative village of K'axob is the cross motif, a quadripartite pattern slipped on the outer and/or occasionally inner surface of the base of Sierra Red or Society Hall Red vessels. The two examples pictured in Figure 6.3a are a small Sierra Red dish with the cross wiped on the bottom and a large Society Hall Red bowl with the cross on the inner surface. This design pattern is not reported at Colha, Cuello, or Cerros for any part of the Late Formative period.

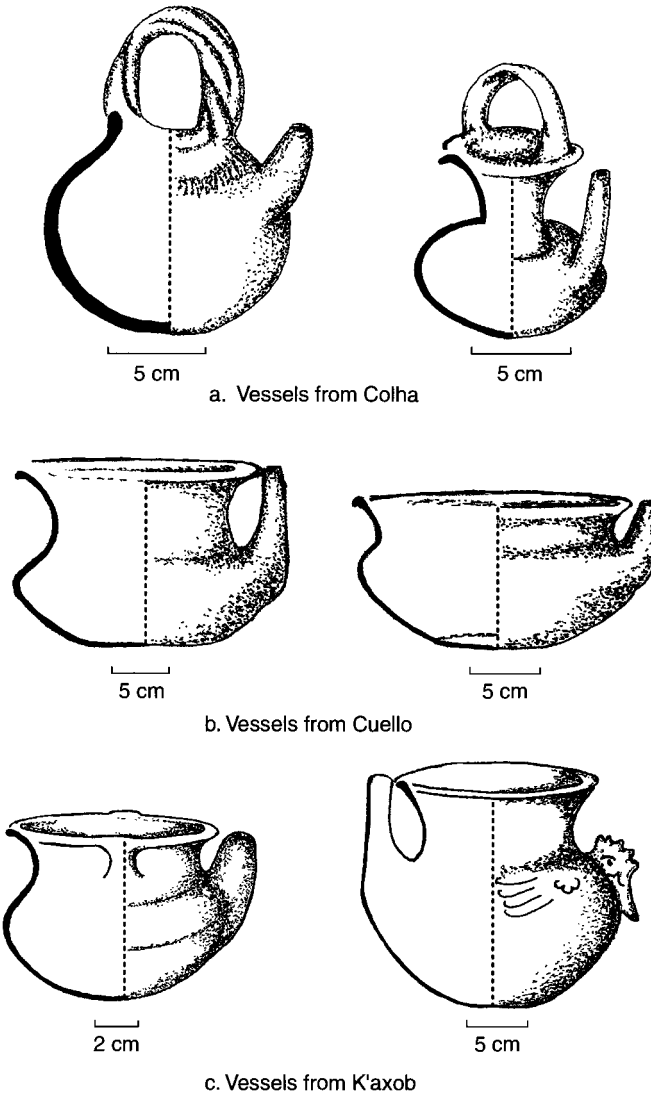


Figure 6.2 Spouted vessels

The quadripartite pattern is an important pan-Mesoamerican symbol linked to agricultural fields, seasonality, the calendar, and cardinal directions. Similar to the cross from K'axob is a colonial representation of the 52-year cycle of the calendar round from central Mexico and numerous Classic Maya representations including the month of *uinal* glyph in long count dating (Miller and Taube 1993: 50–3). Wendy Ashmore (1991) has

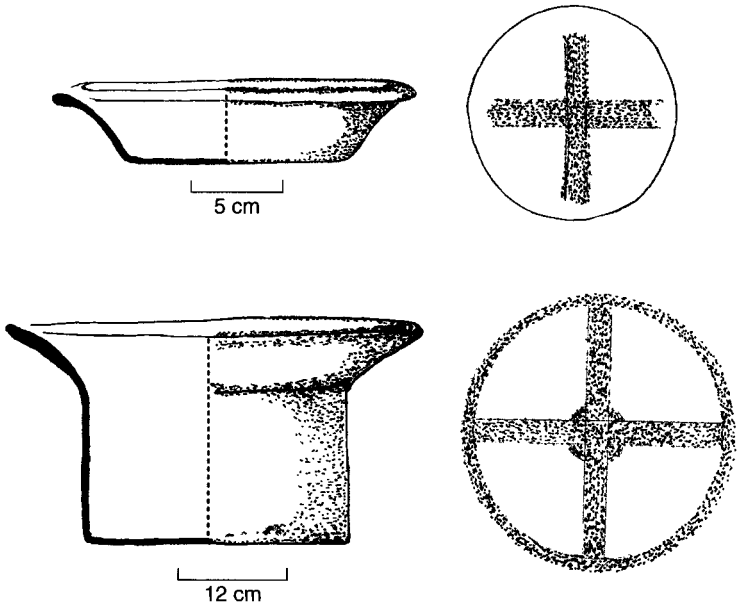
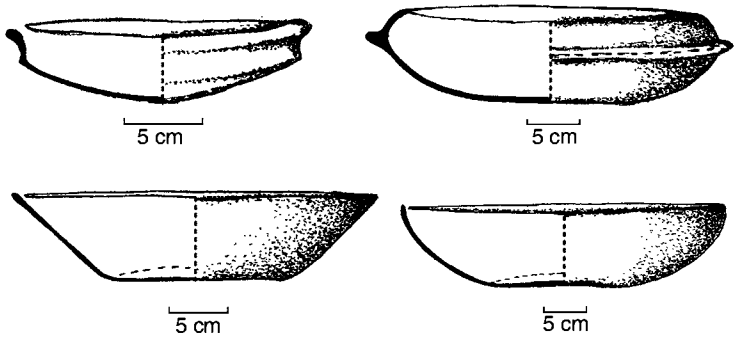
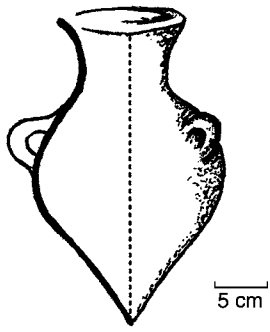


Figure 6.3 Vessels from K'axob

noted the presence of this motif in architectural elements at both Copan and Tikal. Linda Schele and David Freidel (1990: 66) note that the cross is represented in the symbolism of world tree which is interpreted to portray the link of the human world to both the upper cosmos and the underworld. The central point of the quadripartite pattern is often emphasized suggesting that the motif itself could indicate centrality in the sense of a physical place. Although the meaning of the motif at K'axob probably was multiple, its presence on ceramics placed only in focal burial contexts suggests the possibility that K'axob was a central place at least to its inhabitants.



a. Vessels with rounded and incurving bases



b. Distinctive mortuary vessel

Figure 6.4 Vessels from Cuello

A second stylistic attribute identified only at K'axob is Sierra Red: Gadrooned variety (López Varela 1996). Predominantly crafted for use in caching rituals related to construction activity, one of the vessels shown in Figure 6.3b was excavated from a cache of four vessels that were positioned in a quadripartite arrangement further suggesting the importance of the quadripartite patterning at K'axob.

Cuello: rounded bases and distinctive mortuary forms

Distinguishing characteristics of the Cuello assemblage are the presence of Sierra Red dishes with rounded bases frequently incurving with straight or incurving walls. The wide variability of forms is not reported elsewhere (Figure 6.4a). In addition, medial, basal, and labial flanges are present earlier than at other sites. The slip colors at Cuello are markedly different than

reported at other sites. These differences suggest the presence of localized pottery production although no production locales have been reported at any Late Formative sites.

Excavations at Cuello also produced mortuary vessels with forms quite different from those noted at other sites. The multiple interment within Platform 34, discussed above, are particularly noteworthy (Figure 6.4b). The distinctive forms include an amphora-shaped jar with a long neck, pointed base and three small handles, a miniature vessel with straight sides (water-glass shape), and a third vessel that Kosakowsky (1987: 83) refers to as a "composite" vessel, a shorter version of the bucket form found at Cerros. Neither form is present at K'axob or Colha.

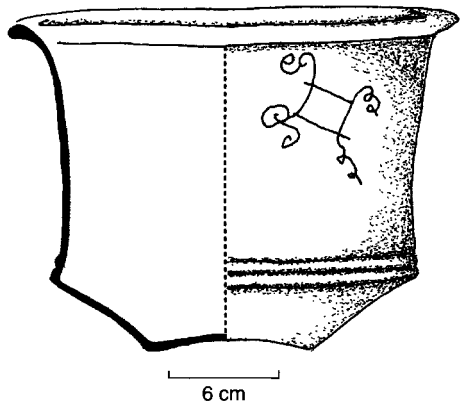
Cerros: trickle patterning and variable forms

During the Late Formative, Cerros had a more elaborate monumental core than the other three sites, and the Cerros pottery reflects greater and possibly more elaborate ritual activity related to its position as a trading center on Chetumal Bay. Enormous red-slipped vessels, probably used in large group gatherings, are prevalent (Figure 6.5a). Although large slipped vessels appear at other sites during this period, the extremely large size of the Cerros vessels suggest large-scale feasting in which community affiliation could be clearly signaled.

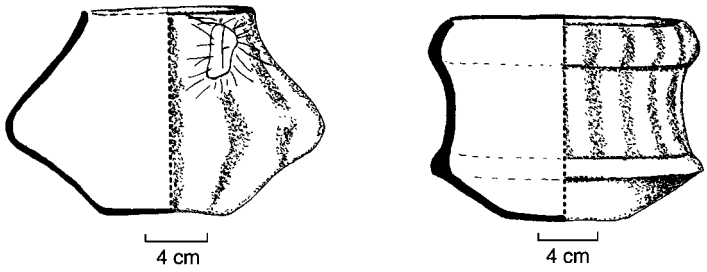
Cerros vessels also exhibit distinctive types of surface decorations such as incising after firing (Figure 6.5a and 6.5b). Incising is also present at Colha, but each pattern is different. Many incised vessels were painted around the rim with a purple material, possibly imported specular hematite (Robertson-Freidel 1980). This type of painting does not appear at the other three sites.

Another surface finish involved the application of a red-over-black slip that fired to create a muddy red-brown. This type of slip occurs on large medial-ridged dishes with outflaring walls above the ridge (Robertson-Freidel 1980). Other slip types include a black-over-red slip that created a mottled effect either in bands on vessel walls or on the basal portion of vessels. This latter type also has been reported at Uaxactun (Smith 1955), Altar de Sacrificios (Adams 1971), and Barton Ramie (Gifford 1976), but it has not been found at K'axob, Colha, or Cuello.

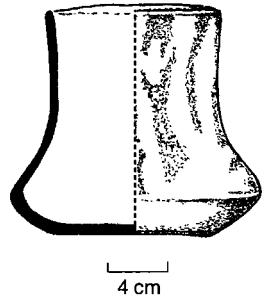
By far the most distinctive decoration at Cerros is a "trickle pattern" (Figures 6.5b and 6.5c), possibly created by dripping a non-organic liquid on the vessel surface (Robertson-Freidel 1980: 143). This type of surface treatment appears earlier at Cerros than it has been found in the northern Yucatán (Robertson-Freidel 1980: 146). Valdez (1987) reports the presence of one vessel of this type at Colha but the trickle pattern has not been found on pottery from K'axob or Cuello. In addition to the trickle decoration, a pattern of wavy and curvilinear design on the interior and occasionally on the exterior of vessels also occurred at Cerros (Robertson-



a. Bucket form with incised decoration



b. Vessels with trickle pattern



c. "Beer mug" with trickle pattern

Figure 6.5 Vessels from Cerros

Freidel 1980). This type of pattern is similar to Usulutan designs present in the Guatemalan highlands and in El Salvador.

Additional forms found at Cerros and not reported at the other three sites include a "beer mug" (Figure 6.5c) and a z-angled vessel. This latter

form is found at the other sites during the subsequent period. In some instances, such as trickle patterning and z-angle forms, Cerros may have initiated the trends that were adopted later elsewhere. The greater variability of the assemblage at Cerros may be an indicator of greater contact with other regions due to trade connections (Freidel 1978).

To recapitulate, the above discussion suggests that during the course of the Formative period, each of the four sites developed unique, localized pottery styles. These differences are evident particularly in vessels from ritual or burial deposits contrasting with an apparent greater uniformity in pottery from domestic contexts. Ritual behavior can be a medium for the expression of social identity and the vessels used in ritual at these four sites seem to incorporate the design styles and forms that are meant to symbolize community affiliation.

Clay acquisition patterns

Patterns of resource acquisition can be sharply bounded by community identity. In localized production, clay is often collected from as near a production locale as possible (Arnold 1989). In the Maya area, no production locales have been identified. Circumscription of resource procurement and the identification of community specific styles provide supporting evidence for local production. If clay deposits are distinctive mineralogically and/or in chemical composition, then the relative scale of the clay procurement system may be approximated by comparing the variation in pottery paste composition to that of clay deposits. To examine if the distinctive style zones discussed above were matched by exclusive clay procurement zones, one would need mineralogical and chemical data from pottery vessels from all four communities and comparison to northern Belizean clay deposits. We have moved in this direction by building a database on northern Belizean clays, but the pottery data remain restricted to vessels from K'axob.

Northern Belize is a limestone plain, which suggests that variability in soils will be limited due to the uniformity of the underlying bedrock. To determine if measurable variability in sediments is present, three lines of evidence were analyzed: soil surveys, petrographic analysis, and neutron activation analysis of soil samples (Angelini 1998; Bartlett *et al.* 2000). Observable differences among soils can be attributed to either alluviation from the Maya Mountains or variability in the chemical breakdown of the underlying limestone bedrock (King *et al.* 1991; Wright *et al.* 1959).

One hundred and forty-three clay samples from throughout northern Belize were collected based on the presence of sufficient clay minerals in the sample to form a coil. Prior to analysis, the clay samples were fired to 600 °C, the temperature that is generally held to have been used to fire the limestone-based ceramics of the Formative period (Angelini 1998; Rice

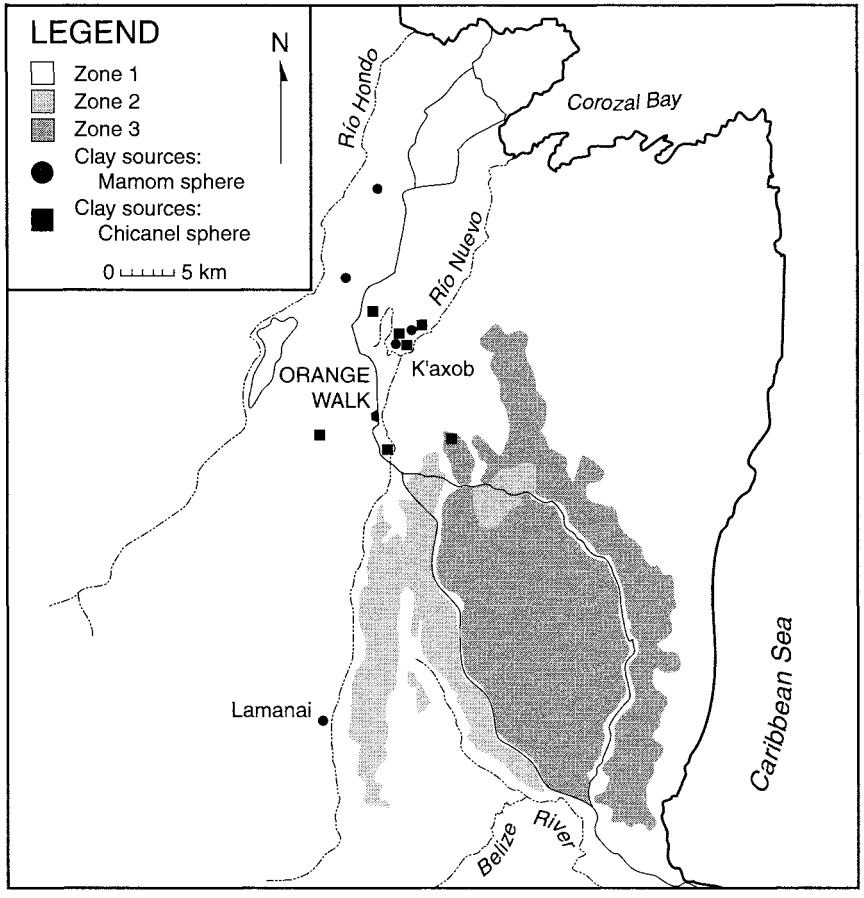


Figure 6.6 Clay resource zones and clay sources exploited during the Middle and Late Formative periods

1987). The petrographic analysis consisted of examination of both the mineral inclusions and the groundmass, the silt-sized or smaller particles (detailed in Angelini 1998). The resulting data when compared to regional soil classifications suggested three possible procurement zones: an alluvial zone; a predominantly quartz-based zone; and a chert belt (Figure 6.6).

The petrographic data from the clays were then compared to the ceramic pastes of 342 ceramic vessels (or fragments thereof) from two temporal periods at K'axob: the Middle Formative (Chaak'kax complex) and the Late Formative (K'atabche'kax complex). Clays from each of the procurement zones were exploited, but the closest matches were: (1) two areas along the banks of the Río Nuevo; (2) *aguadas* (manmade depressions probably for

water storage) within the K'axob settlement; (3) areas near Colha in the chert zone; and (4) clays from the northern edge of the quartz belt.

Employment of neutron activation analysis augmented the soil and petrographic data (detailed in Angelini 1998 and Bartlett *et al.* 2000). This analysis indicated that clay deposits vary along a north–south direction, probably related to the river courses (Angelini 1998, Bartlett *et al.* 2000). When these data were compared to the chemical composition of ceramic pastes an interesting pattern emerged. Ceramics dating to the Middle Formative period were more diverse chemically than those of the Late Formative period and were more likely to be composed of clays like those found farther than 7 km from K'axob. By the Late Formative period, the clay resources utilized were more similar to those found near the K'axob site (Figure 6.6).

Petrographic analysis of ceramic pastes supports the finding that Middle Formative ceramics were more likely made from non-local clays. The resist-slipped ceramics found primarily in ritual contexts are the most likely to be dissimilar. These vessels' pastes have fossilized rounded calcitic minerals (oolitic calcite) not found in any local clays. The Late Formative ceramics, on the other hand, have paste compositions markedly similar to clay deposits found near K'axob. These results suggest that localized pottery production using nearby clays occurred during the Late Formative period. The stylistic analysis suggests that these potters developed distinct pottery crafting traditions using locally identifiable symbols like the cross motif at K'axob. In effect, the expression of community identity suggests localized production, a greater circumscription in clay resource acquisition, and perhaps a reduction in broad regional ceramic exchange.

Discussion

The Maya Formative period was a time of enormous social change that led eventually to the cultural apogee of the Classic period with its attendant writing system, monumental art and architecture, urbanism, and a ruling elite. Within this dynamic context, villages were settled and grew, reflecting and responding to the social changes occurring within the larger society. During the course of a thousand years, the inhabitants of these villages became increasingly familiar with their local environments. This acclimatization is reflected in the increased localization of clay exploitation as the population adjusted to the resources readily available. Concurrently, the development of localized potting traditions identified with specific places seems to have become more important within an increasingly hierarchical interaction sphere.

At the beginning of the Middle Formative, ceramics appear relatively undifferentiated among these four study sites. Forms and surface treatments are variable but seem to be related to influences outside the Maya area. By

Late Formative times, a more homogeneous ceramic tradition evolved in the Maya lowlands which, as has long been noted, included superficial similarities in surface features and ceramic technology among most Maya sites (Jones 1986; Shepard 1939, 1940). Our study documents the coeval emergence of individualized community-based styles. The variability among the surface features, particularly form, among sites has hitherto been ignored yet this differentiation says much about the importance of identity for the inhabitants of each community. Of further significance is the fact that this trend is situated within a time period during which institutionalized power relations are evolving. This correlation indicates that place-making seems to be an important factor in the identification and negotiation of status within Maya society at this time.

Community-specific pottery designs and forms are most apparent in ritual deposits, such as caches and burials, sacred contexts that seem to have been especially iconic of community identity. Ian Hodder (1992: 33) notes that the burial furnishings reflect the "conceptual importance of the boundary between life and death." The Maya ritually inter their dead within their homes creating a "genealogy of place" with each successive interment (McAnany 1995: 100). Consecutive burial events seem both to empower and create sacred space particularly in site centers. The placement of specific community markers in these contexts can be seen as providing linkage between the ancestors and their descendants as a means of validating and sanctifying the place of the living within the larger society.

The site of K'axob is identified primarily with the cross motif and with certain unique forms, such as gadrooned vessels. The cross motif may have been linked to the role of K'axob as an agricultural community or was possibly employed to indicate the perceived centrality of the site by its occupants. Cuello ceramics feature distinctive rounding and slip coloration which distinguished this pottery from that of other sites. The uniqueness of Cuello mortuary vessels also speaks to the presence of an individualized community-based potting tradition and the locale-specific accrual of meaning to sacred space. Colha is identified with strap-handled spouted vessels that may have been linked to trading ceremonies and are likely associated with the community's role as a specialized producer and distributor of stone tools. Cerros is identified by large serving vessels with elaborate surface features. These large vessels may have played a role in large-group feasting activities that necessarily occur at ocean accessible trading centers. In each of these communities, unique pottery styles were present by Late Formative times and arguably attest to the importance of community identity. The deposition of these unique forms in burials and caches strengthens the symbolic identification with place.

Differentiation of stylistic messages suggests that place-making is an important force in the social climate of the Late Formative period. The importance of community identity within a society that is evolving in

complexity is an avenue of research that has been largely ignored in the Maya lowlands where emphasis has been placed on the study of households and institutionalized power structures in large political capitals. In the case of the K'axob community, it is important to note that the variation in ceramic style appears to be a community-wide characteristic. The stylistic markers and different forms which are unique to K'axob were excavated from single family dwellings, plaza groupings, and from beneath one of the Classic-period pyramids at the site. The recovered array of stylistic markers attest to an identity based on community location and role rather than individual household or lineage. As a group in the Late Formative period, the residents of K'axob adopted a set of stylistic markers to attest to their identification with their particular community and to mark and bound their place in society. The burial of these markers in sacred contexts further validated this affiliation.

Conclusions

Original Maya settlers of northern Belize lived in relatively undifferentiated agricultural villages and maintained open trading networks. As populations increased and communities grew in size and complexity, the material culture changed, reflecting the increasingly hierarchical trajectory within the society. During the thousand years of the Maya Formative period, pottery superficially became more homogeneous, but within this overarching homogeneity, potters found ways to express the unique identity of their community both in vessel form and surface treatments. As institutionalized power relationships began to dominate the social landscape, individual communities responded by emphasizing their own unique attributes thus establishing and attesting to their place within society. In this way, community affiliations and the "crafting" of place were encoded by potters in a manner that is still visible after two millennia.

Acknowledgments

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Note

1 In this study, no attempt was made at random sampling. Only whole or partially complete vessels with both a rim and base were examined. The largest sample is from K'axob, a total of 353 observations. The sample was selected based on type–variety designation with twenty-five samples of each type sampled when possible. At the remaining sites, only whole vessels were studied regardless of type. For the other sites the sample is as follows: Cuello, 109 vessels; Cerros, 98 vessels; and Colha, 55 vessels. The study drew heavily upon previous studies of the pottery of K'axob by Mary Lee Bartlett Angelini (1998) and Sandra López Varela (1996), of Cuello by Laura Kosakowsky (1987), of Colha by Fred Valdez (1987), and of Cerros by Robin Robertson-Freidel (1980).

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7

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITIES IN THE CLASSIC MAYA COUNTRYSIDE

Strategies of affiliation in western Belize

Jason Yaeger

Introduction

Human beings produce society through their interactions. Anthropology has increasingly explored the ramifications of this theoretical position (Ortner 1984), while acknowledging that this essentialist statement is necessarily tempered by the recognition that humans are social products and that society forms an objective reality (Berger and Luckmann 1967: 61). Practice theory (Bourdieu 1977) and structuration theory (Giddens 1984), both of which position the individual as the primary agent of social production, have been instrumental in this trend. Agent-oriented approaches recognize the complexities of social production, and posit a recursive relationship between the objective social and material conditions that form a context for human action, the culturally constituted dispositions by which humans perceive those conditions, and the strategic choices human beings make.

Archaeologists have contributed to this general shift toward seeing society as a human product, rethinking the place of individuals in ancient societies and the role of decision-making in social processes (e.g. Clark and Blake 1994; Donley-Reid 1990; Earle 1991; Gamble 1998; Hayden 1990; Hodder 1991; Johnson 1991; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Redman 1977; Tilley 1993; Tringham 1994). Archaeologists approach the individual from a wide range of theoretical perspectives, however, not all of which fit comfortably under the label of agent-oriented theory (also Saitta 1994a). Phenomenological studies, for example, often assume a unitary experience (e.g. Tilley 1993), while behavioralist approaches often invoke near-universal notions of rationality (e.g. Earle 1991). There are also differences among scholars who employ agent-oriented approaches. Many of them are

interested in social change and therefore focus on "entrepreneurial" practices and individuals who have more power to effect changes (e.g. Clark and Blake 1994; Hayden and Gargett 1990), seeming to limit agency to people in positions of greater power (also Johnson 1989). I differ from these more individualistic views, drawing more heavily on practice theory (Bourdieu 1977). I view agents as being somewhat more constrained by structures that are external to the individual yet in part created and maintained through social practice (see also Sahlins 1981 on the role of structure), and agency as playing as much of a role in conservative processes of social reproduction as it does in processes of social change.

Communities and agents

In the first half of this century, most anthropologists saw the community as a fundamental social and territorial unit, marked by the daily interaction of its members (Murdock 1949). They conceived of the community as a key social institution, the primary locus of social, cultural, and biological reproduction (Arensberg 1961; Murdock 1949; Redfield 1955; Tax 1937). This inward-looking or "centripetal" (Gould 1959) paradigm engendered decades of community-based ethnographic fieldwork (Chambers and Young 1979), but it also tended to reify the community as a closed, bounded, and homogeneous social entity. This approach ultimately led to critiques that community studies ignored issues of internal factionalism, the roles of external institutions, and the community's historically contingent nature (Lewis 1951; Marriott 1955; Siegel and Beals 1960; Wolf 1956, 1957, 1986).

Some four decades after the denouement of community studies, the community is again a topic of discussion in anthropology, buoyed in part by a growing interest in complex, postcolonial societies. Although many use the term community loosely to refer to socio-territorial units, scholars generally have departed from the earlier essentialist paradigm. Where the community was once seen as the key institution in social reproduction, many today see the community itself as socially constituted (Anderson 1991; Cohen 1985; Mitchell 1998). From this perspective, the core of a community is an ideal of comradeship and membership that is not necessarily rooted in a certain place. In fact, the community can be a response to residential dispersion (Olwig 1993). Perceived of in this manner, the community can be a potent force in the politics of nationalism and ethnicity (Anderson 1991; Devalle 1995; Sharma 1995), and is one of many identities that an individual can deploy strategically to realize certain goals (also Cohen 1994).

Simplified, these two paradigms see the community as, on the one hand, an essential and primordial social institution and, on the other, as a fleeting identity contingent entirely on individuals' strategic choices. Neither of these positions satisfies, and introducing the notion of agency presents a

potential solution. Agency avoids essentialist and normative paradigms by shifting focus from the community's static functions to its dynamic functioning as a social construct, constituted and continually reconstituted by its members' practices. But acknowledging that the community is socially constructed does not entail reducing it to an identity that individuals arbitrarily create and use at will. The strategic choices of agents, especially as formulated in Pierre Bourdieu's practice theory (1977; cf. Giddens 1984), are circumscribed and configured in part by the objective social, mental, and material structures that lie outside their direct control. Although community members play critical and active roles in the constitution of the community, their actions are structured by material conditions and by social and cultural structures that condition agents' relationships with the material world. By recognizing that the community is contingent upon the choices and activities of its members, while it simultaneously structures those practices, we problematize both its origins and its continued existence. What material and social conditions structure community members' interactions? What practices serve to create, recreate, and reshape the community and community identity?

In many small settlements, a local community identity begins with its members' daily routines, rooted in "how they make their world work given where they live, what they must do to survive there, and who [*sic*] they must enlist to do so" (Watanabe 1992: 217). These common pragmatic concerns create a shared set of mental dispositions for acting within the physical and social world, akin to Bourdieu's (1977) *habitus*. These shared principles structure community members' perceptions of the world and their actions within it, contributing to a "sense" of commonality that is essential to the existence of a community.

This sense of community, often unconscious, can become more concrete through practices that explicitly represent certain similarities among community members as being somehow essential to that group, thus differentiating members of one community from those of another. Scholars studying ethnicity have emphasized the importance of defining "us" in contrast to "them" (Barth 1969), often using material symbols to do so (DeBoer 1990; Jones 1997; Wiessner 1989). In this way, practices that represent certain commonalties and affinities among individuals in a community draw boundaries across the physical and social landscape and establish the community as an explicit identity with a definite membership. In making community membership explicit, these practices, which I term "practices of affiliation," convert the community into a potential resource for use in social negotiations. They also expose community membership to dispute and contestation by shifting the criteria of community membership from the unconscious level (Bourdieu's *doxa*) to one of discourse.

The local community is but one kind of community, however. There are also communities in which shared structuring principles are not reinforced

through intense, face-to-face interaction of the entire membership. In these "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991), members may not know one another, yet they perceive themselves as alike in some important and essential ways, due perhaps to shared origins or a common belief system. Although different "styles" of imagined communities can present distinct characteristics, community members always share a deep horizontal sense of comradeship that often transcends inequalities and differences among them (Anderson 1991: 6–7). This perceived commonality is maintained through practices of affiliation that make such similarities manifest.

In any complex society, we should expect to find communities coexisting as nested and/or cross-cutting entities (see Ferguson and Mansbach's [1996] definition of polity). Because neighbors in small settlements share a common living environment, a myriad of particularly local concerns, and the potential for frequent interaction, the local community is often grounded in a way that distinguishes it from more politicized and fluid imagined communities. Ultimately, however, local and imagined communities are heuristic types that are more alike than they are different, both predicated on membership and a perceived common identity.

Archaeologists almost always define the community, in part at least, as a residential unit (e.g. Kolb and Snead 1997; most of the chapters in Wills and Leonard 1994). Archaeologists in Mesoamerica have followed this trend, generally equating community with the site (explicit in Sanders 1981: 354), a fact that reflects, in part, the central place of the site in archaeological research paradigms (Dunnell 1992). Only infrequently has the black box of the community-as-site been pried open in an attempt to understand its internal dynamics (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Chase *et al.* 1990; Cowgill 1997; Flannery 1976; Marcus 1983; Sanders 1989; Tourtellot 1988; Whalen 1988). An agent-oriented, practice approach is one way to remedy this lacuna in our understanding of past social dynamics, as I will demonstrate in my examination of the practices by which the inhabitants of the rural Maya hamlet of San Lorenzo generated both local and imagined community identities.

San Lorenzo and Xunantunich

San Lorenzo is a discrete settlement of twenty mound groups on a low ridge overlooking the fertile floodplain of the Mopan River in western Belize. The settlement is located 1.5 km from Xunantunich, the political capital of the region in the Late and Terminal Classic periods, which sits atop a high ridge on the opposite side of the Mopan River (Figure 7.1). Excavation data indicate that seventeen of the site's twenty groups are residential and can be formally divided into three groups: multiple-mound groups with patios, individual mounds, and multiple-mound groups lacking formal patio spaces. In addition, a chert quarry and associated debitage mounds (SL-82) and three very small platforms are located within the settlement (Figure 7.2).

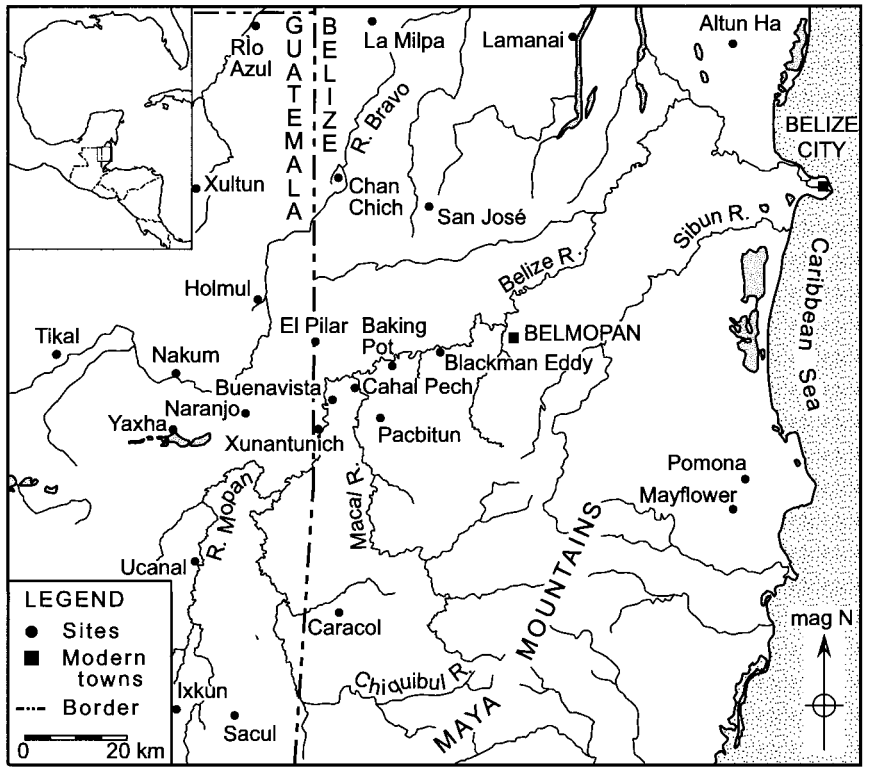

Figure 7.1 Archaeological sites in central Belize and eastern El Petén, Guatemala

Building on previous research (Chase 1993), I directed excavations at San Lorenzo to investigate the development and internal organization of this small rural settlement and its relationship to larger social and political structures like the Xunantunich polity (Yaeger 2000). A middle-level paradigm (de Montmollin 1988) informed the research design, which stipulated an analytical scale between pure household-level archaeology and large-scale settlement studies (also Hayden 1994; Hayden and Cannon 1982). We cleared extensive areas of a sample of the settlement's domestic groups: one single mound (SL-31); one informal multi-mound group (SL-34); and three patio groups (SL-22, SL-24, SL-28). We also conducted extensive excavations at SL-13, a locally unique multi-patio group located just beyond the settlement's boundaries. To complement these excavations, we placed test units adjacent to almost every other structure at San Lorenzo.

These excavations demonstrate that San Lorenzo was founded early in the Late Classic period, during the Samal ceramic phase (AD 600–670), although there is evidence of sporadic earlier occupation, especially in the

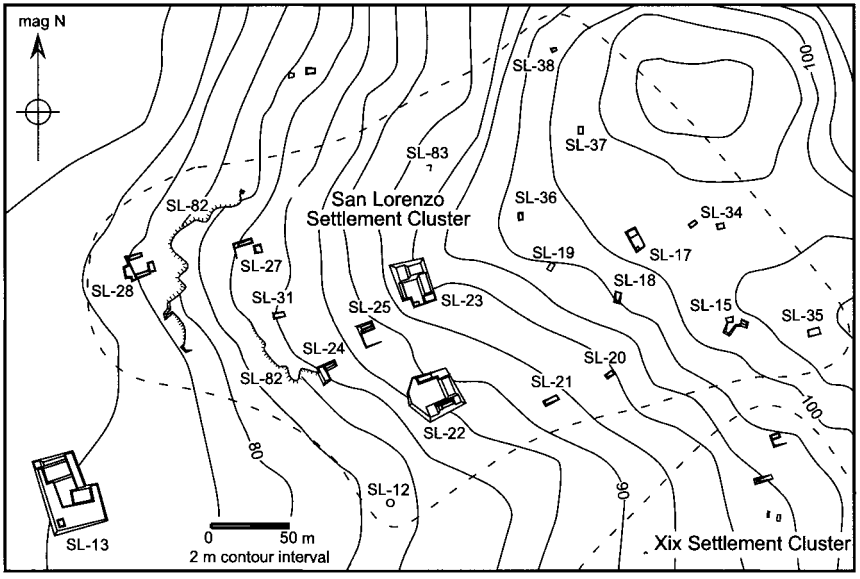

Figure 7.2 The San Lorenzo settlement cluster

Middle and Late Preclassic periods. The settlement grew to its maximum size later in the Late Classic period, during the Hats' Chaak phase (AD 670–780), then shrank markedly during the early facet of the Tsak' phase (entire phase dates to AD 780–890?) as San Lorenzo inhabitants vacated over 75 per cent of the settlement's domestic groups; it was abandoned during the late facet of the Tsak' phase.

At nearby Xunantunich, the great majority of monumental construction occurred during the Hats' Chaak phase, probably early in the Hats' Chaak phase. The site's prosperity was apparently short-lived, however, and by the early facet of the Tsak' phase, several sectors of the site had fallen into disuse. The site was completely abandoned by the end of the Tsak' phase (Jamison and Leventhal 1997; Leventhal and LeCount forthcoming). The parallel patterns of Hats' Chaak expansion and Tsak' contraction at San Lorenzo and Xunantunich, while possibly somewhat exaggerated by the limits of our chronological precision, suggest that the fortunes of the San Lorenzo residents were relatively closely linked to those of the polity's rulers and vice versa. Detailed examination of the data from San Lorenzo and Xunantunich reveals, more specifically, that the local San Lorenzo community and the larger Xunantunich community were mutually dependent in the Hats' Chaak phase, and that the practices that created and reinforced these communities were intertwined.

Practice and the construction of communities at San Lorenzo

I distinguish three broad categories of practices that shaped the social relationships of the residents of San Lorenzo: (1) practices shared by everybody living at San Lorenzo that reflected and helped reproduce the habitus that was an important foundation of a local sense of sameness; (2) practices of affiliation, often interactive in nature, that more discursively created and reinforced perceived similarities within the settlement and thus fostered a local community identity; and (3) practices of affiliation that linked San Lorenzo residents to other individuals, creating and defining more extensive identities, including the imagined Xunantunich community and an "elite" or leadership community. This heuristic typology allows us to categorize and discuss the universe of social practices at Hats' Chaak-phase San Lorenzo and the communities that these practices helped create.

The creation of a local habitus

At the heart of the local community lies a set of shared understandings, created and recreated in daily pursuits and interactions (Watanabe 1992). I use Bourdieu's term *habitus* to refer to these understandings because it implies both that they are contingent upon prior practices and the material and cultural structures that generally guide practice, and that they continue to structure future practice. Because habitus is not conscious, its structuring effects are not necessarily realized, which contributes to its efficacy: the structures of the habitus and their influence on daily practice seem so natural that they are not open to conscious debate or dispute.

The archaeological evidence indicates that the residents of San Lorenzo engaged in practices that reflect a local habitus. The more salient of these practices are those involving fundamental concerns of production and consumption. The five extensively excavated domestic groups at San Lorenzo all show evidence of certain basic productive activities: granite manos and metates for grinding maize; large ceramic jars and bowls for storing and cooking food; lithic debitage indicating household-level stone tool production; and large chert bifaces probably used in agricultural work. Most also had stone and ceramic spindle whorls and stone barkbeaters.

These similarities in material culture indicate that the families of San Lorenzo engaged in similar productive pursuits and thus shared the experience of the daily and seasonal temporal rhythms that those pursuits imposed on their lives. Despite the existence of individual differences, these shared quotidian experiences and the very strong similarities in the material world that shaped experience and socialization would have fostered among the San Lorenzo residents very similar understandings of the world and how to act within it. Although most residents of the upper Belize River valley shared

similar experiences, three lines of evidence suggest that the residents of San Lorenzo experienced a habitus distinct from their neighbors.

First, there is the spatial proximity of their houses. San Lorenzo is one of five discrete settlement clusters in the Rancho San Lorenzo Survey Area. The nearness of the seventeen houses in the San Lorenzo cluster would have made possible a higher level of interaction, both cooperative and contentious, among the settlement's residents. Through daily interaction, people build social relationships and tacitly acknowledge similar beliefs about the world and how to act within it. Spatial proximity made these interactions possible, but it alone cannot be taken as evidence that they occurred.

A second line of evidence is the orientation of the structures in the San Lorenzo cluster. Most buildings in the Rancho San Lorenzo Survey Area are aligned west of north, but the houses in the San Lorenzo settlement cluster tend to be oriented further west of north than those in other clusters. This difference is statistically significant for two of the three other clusters, while the great variance of orientations in the third cluster, where house placement was influenced by a steep ridge, reduces the level of significance. These data suggest that the residents of San Lorenzo laid out their houses using a reference point, perhaps a celestial body or a natural or cultural landmark, that was distinct from that used by their neighbors.

Finally, a chert quarry (SL-82) provided the San Lorenzo residents with a shared, local economic resource. The quarry is extensive, with several procurement cuts and three debitage mounds distributed along its length, independent of any single residential group (Figure 7.2). The nature of the debitage mounds and the associated non-lithic materials suggest that people selected cobbles and began working some of them in ephemeral structures at the quarry site. All of the excavated domestic groups at San Lorenzo showed some evidence of stone tool production, although some households were more involved in stone tool manufacture than others. Jon VandenBosch (1997) has found that rural households in the Xunantunich hinterland did not generally produce their own stone tools, obtaining them instead from households that specialized in this endeavor.

Taken together, the layout of the quarry and the distribution of lithic debitage within San Lorenzo and throughout the region suggest that only the settlement's residents utilized chert from this quarry, and that tool and flake production was not restricted to any one household. The use of the quarry and its products, whether producing tools or recycling debitage as platform fill, required planning and cooperation, and it provided an important resource for the settlement's residents to control. The quarry's location within the bounds of the settlement made this very tangible resource and focus of various productive practices unequivocally local in nature.

The material evidence demonstrates that the residents of San Lorenzo shared a large number of daily concerns and experiences. Spatial proximity

indicates the potential for increased interaction within the settlement, and the practices discussed above – daily production and consumption, laying out of house foundations, and use of the chert quarry and its products – reveal the nature of some of those interactions, while many others are not reflected in the archaeological record. These practices, rooted in the material conditions of the domestic realm and daily and seasonal scheduling, acted to shape a local habitus that distinguished residents of San Lorenzo from their neighbors. That habitus not only structured the residents' perceptions of the world and thus fostered a sense of sameness among them, but also structured practices of affiliation that more actively created a local community identity.

Practices of affiliation and the construction of a local community identity

In contrast to those just discussed, a second class of practices at San Lorenzo explicitly manifested relationships and affiliations internal to the community, constructing and reinforcing a local community identity while simultaneously highlighting differences between the members of that community. These practices included group feasts and the construction of the settlement's largest houses. Unlike the practices described above, agents in these practices were more likely to have understood the links between these activities and intra-community affiliations.

Feasting was one important practice of affiliation at San Lorenzo. Table 7.1 demonstrates that we recovered significant quantities of animal bones and teeth only from the three domestic groups of greatest height and volume, SL-22, SL-23, and SL-24. The nearly complete restriction of faunal remains to these three domestic groups and to the special function group, SL-13, is remarkable. Interestingly, bone chemistry analysis at nearby Barton Ramie indicates that most Late Classic inhabitants of that rural site ate roughly similar amounts of meat (Gerry 1993). Assuming that this was generally true of the region, the distribution of faunal remains at San Lorenzo does not reflect who consumed meat but where they consumed it. The higher frequencies of incense burners and decorated serving vessels in those same domestic groups suggest that ritual feasts were one important context for meat consumption. Although we lack direct evidence of this, it seems likely that at least some of these feasts were held to honor and propitiate the spirits of ancestors (McAnany 1995), some of whose bodies were buried under the house floors.

Regardless of the reasons for the feasts, these celebrations brought San Lorenzo residents together for a common purpose that included participating in rituals and sharing food. Although all community members presumably participated in these feasts, the resources needed to host them – whether access to meat or access to the oldest or most powerful ancestors

Table 7.1 Vertebrate faunal remains from San Lorenzo and SL-13

Group	*Count*	*Frequency within Category (%)*	*Overall Frequency (%)*
San Lorenzo:			
Cleared groups			
SL-22	902	79.7	54.0
SL-24	221	19.5	13.2
SL-28	1	0.1	0.1
SL-31	1	0.1	0.1
SL-34	6	0.5	0.4
Sub-total	1131	100.0	
Tested groups			
SL-15	0	0.0	0.0
SL-17	0	0.0	0.0
SL-18	0	0.0	0.0
SL-19	0	0.0	0.0
SL-20	1	7.7	0.1
SL-21	0	0.0	0.0
SL-23	11	84.6	0.7
SL-25	0	0.0	0.0
SL-27	0	0.0	0.0
SL-35	1	7.7	0.1
Sub-total	13	100.0	
Total: San Lorenzo	1144		
SL-13	527	100.0	31.5
Total	1671		100.0

– were not evenly distributed throughout the community. Not surprisingly, two of the hosting households (SL-22, SL-23) were also among the first to be established at San Lorenzo, well before the Hats' Chaak phase began, a historical precedent that might have given them special claims to the land through their ancestors (McAnany 1995).

The construction of the settlement's largest houses also both reaffirmed the links between the San Lorenzo households and simultaneously made manifest the community's internal differences. All of the isolated mounds but one (SL-25) and two of the seven patio groups consisted of low house platforms made mostly of cobblestones and topped by wattle-and-daub structures. Two other patio groups were nearly identical to those just described, but they included at least one platform with limestone masonry facings. A third set of groups (SL-22, SL-23, SL-24, SL-25) had notably larger house platforms made of limestone blocks, which supported buildings with masonry wall stubs (Figure 7.3).

The houses of this last type required a significant amount of labor to build, demonstrating the ability of these four households to mobilize extra-household labor, presumably from within the community. When these households called on their neighbors to help build their homes, all of the

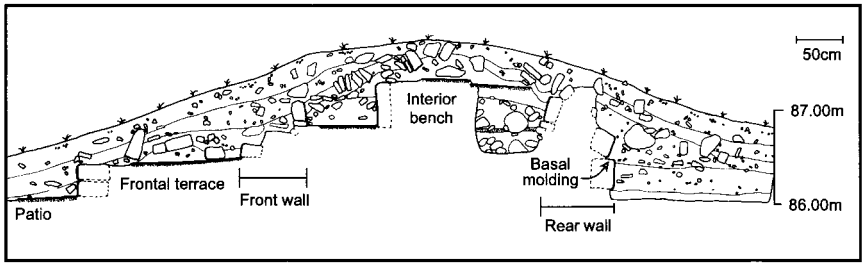

Figure 7.3 SL-24 Str 1: west section of axial trench

participants acknowledged the social ties that bound them together, whether these were bonds of kinship, political allegiance, and/or economic dependence. These construction projects also made clear the difference between those who could call upon a significant amount of extra-household labor and those who could not. The products of these practices, the houses, remained for centuries as durable testaments of those differences (McGuire and Schiffer 1983).

Practices of affiliation and extra-local identities

The residents of San Lorenzo also engaged in practices that represented and created affiliations between some members of the community and groups outside the local community. Archaeologists have increasingly explored the roles of identity groups that crosscut traditionally recognized social entities like households, communities, and states (Brumfiel 1994; Joyce 1991; Saitta 1994b; Schortman and Nakamura 1991). Whether organized vertically or horizontally, these groups often arise when individuals recognize common concerns and join into larger collectives for the purposes of social action. These identities are constructed in part through practices of affiliation, which can be inferred at San Lorenzo from the material symbols used in them and from the spaces where they occurred.

One class of material symbols used to express affiliation at San Lorenzo were items of adornment made from exotic raw materials. The relative scarcity of such items requires restricting a discussion of their distribution to the five extensively excavated domestic groups. Although we recovered marine shell ornaments from all five households, the residents of the larger houses possessed the more elaborate conch and Spondylus ornaments. More striking is the greenstone distribution: only those families living in the largest houses, SL-22 and SL-24, possessed greenstone beads. Although the San Lorenzo residents presumably valued greenstone and marine shell for their exotic origins and cosmological significance (Helms 1993), I would argue that they also actively recognized the role of exotic goods in creating

political ties (Hirth 1992; Rice 1987) and that community members who wore those items were purposefully representing their connections to the polity elite.

Our excavations also showed that the same families who owned jade beads and hosted feasts distinguished themselves architecturally. These families used cut limestone blocks and lime plaster in their houses, incorporating architectural features like basal moldings and high interior benches not found elsewhere at San Lorenzo (Figure 7.3). As a result, their homes and patio spaces resembled elite residential compounds at Xunantunich more than they did the wattle-and-daub houses of their fellow community-members. Again, I argue that these San Lorenzo households were knowingly claiming an affiliation with the polity elite, a connection that was probably important for maintaining and perhaps increasing their local status. When San Lorenzo residents gathered in those few domestic groups for feasts that in part acknowledged the local community identity, the different and differentiating architecture and personal adornment of the host families – and the connections to groups outside the community that these bespoke – would have been apparent to all of the San Lorenzo residents.

Other practices that represented social distinctions within the local community and created extra-community affiliations took place in a non-residential complex adjacent to San Lorenzo, group SL-13. This group is unique in the Rancho San Lorenzo Survey Area. It is the area's largest group in terms of mound height and volume and the only group with two connected patios. The architecture of SL-13 – the raised South Patio and the completely enclosed North Patio, an exterior plastered area north of the group, and the narrow buildings flanking the North Patio – is unlike any residential group excavated at San Lorenzo. Indeed the restricted spaces, the stage-like qualities of the buildings, and the exterior plastered area all suggest that the group was in large part a ritual venue. This inference is supported by an unusual artifact assemblage containing high frequencies of incensarios and serving vessels, many shell and greenstone adornments, a possible bone flute, and a large number of vertebrate faunal remains.

Several lines of evidence lead me to conclude that the rulers of Xunantunich were directly involved in the construction of SL-13 or that it was a local project intimately linked to the rising power of Xunantunich. First, the group is located between the various settlement clusters in the area. Second, it involved an amount of labor greater than any of the houses in the area. Third, the initial construction of the North Patio and its surrounding structures early in the Hats' Chaak phase, well after the founding of San Lorenzo, coincides with the rising power of the Xunantunich elite. Fourth, SL-13 Str 3 is the only platform we found at San Lorenzo with two stairways, one facing the patio and the other looking southwest toward Xunantunich. Fifth, the group lacks a pyramidal ancestral shrine that would suggest it was a ritual focus of a lineage or similar kin group like those that I suspect

inhabited the adjacent settlement clusters. Finally, the complex apparently ceased to function as a ritual venue in the early facet of the Tsak' phase, contemporary with the abandonment of many ritual areas of Xunantunich. Taken together, these data all suggest that the Xunantunich rulers were closely involved with the building of SL-13, likely as part of a strategy to integrate this part of the Mopan River valley into their polity.

The evidence that SL-13 was a ritual complex related to the political expansion of the Xunantunich rulers is convincing, but it does not allow us to specify what kinds of rituals were held there. The group's buildings probably served as stages for multiple ritual activities involving different combinations of participants from the adjacent settlements and from Xunantunich. Some rituals conceivably brought together an entire local community with representatives of Xunantunich, establishing horizontal links among the participants that expressed and affirmed their membership in the emerging imagined community of the Xunantunich polity. Others likely contributed to internal divisions within local communities like those described for San Lorenzo. In particular, the architectural distinction in SL-13 between an exterior plastered area along its northern side and the enclosed North Patio argues for a parallel social division between those participants who could enter the patio and those who could not. In some rituals, this division might have been heterarchical, distinguishing people of roughly equal status, and in others it was probably hierarchical, perhaps bringing together the leaders of the area's local communities. Practices that used both spaces would have made these kinds of social divisions manifest, reinforcing them, whether heterarchical or hierarchical. Simultaneously, however, those rituals would have manifested an affinity among those individuals who were excluded from the patio space and among those admitted into it. Thus, for example, the same hypothetical practices that strengthened the bonds between local leaders and the Xunantunich elite could also have encouraged new horizontal affiliations among those individuals excluded from the inner sanctum, forming identities that crosscut local communities.

Although I have focused on activities in and around San Lorenzo, practices of social significance to the residents of San Lorenzo also took place elsewhere. Celebrations at Xunantunich, the heart of the polity, brought the polity's populace together for common ritual purposes, arguably fostering an identity that transcended local communities (Braswell *et al.* 1994; Yaeger 1999). This imagined community probably relied heavily on the political, economic, and spiritual leadership and guidance provided by the semi-divine rulers of Xunantunich and their divine ancestors and on shared religious experiences in the sacred spaces of the polity's capital and the surrounding landscape. While providing a venue for polity-wide ritual, the layout of the capital also created a hierarchy of zones of increasingly restricted access, especially in the royal residential compound and on the site's largest pyramid

(Jamison and Leventhal 1997; Keller 1995). I suspect that the rulers of Xunantunich granted leaders of rural communities like San Lorenzo special access to rituals and private audiences. These privileges, like the wearing of exotic gifts, served to mark and strengthen the affiliation between the rulers and hinterland leaders, simultaneously setting the latter apart from the other members of their local communities.

Discussion

Understanding the community as a socially constituted institution requires a close examination of the practices by which people produce, reproduce, and transform the community, especially those in which people explicitly represent affiliations and commonalities with others. In Hats' Chaak-phase San Lorenzo, practices in the settlement's domestic groups and the local landscape created a local community identity built on the habitus shared by the hamlet's members. In many of these practices, the residents of San Lorenzo asserted their commonality in the face of marked social differences that were probably based in part on birth order and rights to land. These structural differences arguably seemed more natural when reproduced through practices of affiliation that relied on intra-community referents like common ancestors and shared history of occupation of the local landscape, and when they were reaffirmed through inclusive practices like feasting. In contrast, practices that used external groups like the Xunantunich rulers as referents to distinguish one group or individual within the settlement were more likely to bring to light the underlying arbitrariness of these social relationships.

The founding of Xunantunich and its rulers' ambitious building program in the Hats' Chaak phase required new levels of corvée labor and tribute from the local populace, and the rulers had to accommodate their strategies to the social and political structures presented by pre-existing rural communities like San Lorenzo. They created bonds with local leaders by sharing exotic goods and their company with them, thus giving up some of their symbolic capital of difference to create what might be called an imagined regional elite community that would have helped to solidify the political and economic relationships that were central to the polity's existence. They also built a ritual venue for the creation of the imaginary Xunantunich community, one of the horizontal institutions that crosscut local settlements and reinforced the polity.

The residents of San Lorenzo engaged in different practices of affiliation for various reasons. It is safe to assume that people participated in some practices because they were customary or otherwise taken for granted, but in other instances, participants must have had specific goals in mind. Local leaders might have recognized that membership in an elite community was another way to distinguish themselves from their neighbors, while their

neighbors might have recognized that belonging to the larger Xunantunich community allowed them to bring local disputes to an arbiter outside the local community. Regardless of their intentions, the effects of their practices went beyond the intended and perhaps beyond the recognized. I suspect that the Hats' Chaak-phase social strategies and practices of affiliation eventually served to fragment San Lorenzo and other local communities by strengthening alternative communities that competed for people's loyalty and resources. In the Tsak' phase, San Lorenzo was a much smaller settlement that consisted primarily of once-powerful families, and the residents of this homogeneous hamlet had ceased to engage in many of the practices of affiliation that had previously fostered local and extra-local communities (Ashmore *et al.* forthcoming). Did the reduced population of the polity at this time obviate the need for practices that explicitly built community identities? Or had the affiliations and loyalties entailed by membership in non-local polity-wide and elite communities weakened local bonds of community in the Hats' Chaak phase, without replacing them with an imagined community compelling enough to keep people's allegiance in the face of the transformations of the Tsak' phase?

Although I have distinguished three heuristic types of practices, the preceding discussion makes it clear that these do not correspond neatly with three nested levels of community construction. Instead, practices of affiliation often reinforced multiple communities, which themselves were mutually dependent. For example, practices by which people constructed local community, like feasting, took place in houses that were created by the local community, reflected economic structures of the polity, and were material symbols of the elite community. Likewise, a reasonably coherent Xunantunich community helped ensure the flow of tribute and labor that maintained both local leaders and the polity's rulers. Clearly, controlling practices of affiliation must have been important, especially given that the communities they could reinforce often represented competing loyalties. In this respect, the power to shape the built environment in which practices of affiliation occurred and the power to regulate the distribution of key items of material culture gave some members of society a greater ability to influence the processes of community production in the region. But the construction of the communities that bound people in the Xunantunich polity together relied on practices of all of the communities' members, not just the powerful.

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8

HETERARCHY, HISTORY, AND MATERIAL REALITY

"Communities" in Late Classic Honduras

Rosemary A. Joyce and Julia A. Hendon

Introduction

Materiality has a crucial role in transforming fleeting identities into historical facts. Social reality is given the force of unconscious facticity by the things that form the settings of everyday life. We propose that as a consequence, "communities" become manifest through material media. "Communities" are realized in daily routinization of passage through material settings, including buildings (Bourdieu 1973, 1977). Community is incorporated in the body through the repetition, or *citation*, of the practices of others who move through the same spatial locations carrying out the same range of practices (Joyce 1998; after Butler 1990, 1993:12–16, 101–19; Connerton 1991).

We consider in this paper how this assumption transforms our analyses of two Late Classic Honduran settlement distributions. At Cerro Palenque (Joyce 1991) "communities" seem well-bounded and easily defined. But in the Cuyumapa drainage (Joyce *et al.* 1989; Hendon and Joyce 1993) the distribution of settlement across the landscape challenges the delineation of communities as spatial entities. We interpret these differences as evidence of different materializations of historicized identities within heterarchical communities. We treat the architectural complexes in these two areas as assertions by their builders of the concrete reality of different *kinds* of communities. Settlements in the Cuyumapa drainage suggest a lack of closure in the materialization of unified, distinct, bounded identities, while Cerro Palenque physically embodies, and therefore creates, a closed community.

By continually reframing the archaeological data at different scales of analysis, we take as a question for investigation the degree to which congruence is evident at different scales and in different material media, adopting what Ruth Tringham calls a "multi-scalar" approach. Tringham (1991, 1994,

1995) argues that archaeological places must be seen as the deliberate creations of past actors. Drawing on the work of social geographer Allan Pred (1984, 1990) she argues that archaeological places result from a process in which the life-histories of things (including buildings) and the biographies of people intersect in the ongoing work of social reproduction. Places, consequently, are always in process, being made, not simply being, and are linked together at multiple scales by the life-histories of things that make them up, and the biographies of people that traverse them. Citing Moore (1986), Tringham argues that buildings can be seen as marking continuity of place, providing resources for the creation of unique individual histories by the actors who inhabit these places.

As a result of their constitution through human action, places are multivocal (Rodman 1992). Their multivocality includes both the simultaneous differentiation of a place as a part of distinct social biographies, and the multiple positioning of places in landscapes. Dianne Rocheleau, Barbara Thomas-Slayter, and David Edmunds demonstrate how the same features on a landscape can be invested with distinct significance by different members of a community:

> A single tree in Kenya, for example, may have a male 'owner', be cared for by a woman borrowing the land on which the tree is found, provide fruits to her and to another woman who lived on that plot when the tree was planted, and furnish small sticks and other fuel to all in good standing in the community.
>
> (Rocheleau *et al.* 1995: 64)

Defining new approaches to mapping landscapes that can capture such multiplicity, they suggest three steps: starting from the scale of everyday use; considering multiple rights and the social relations that shape them; and employing multiple perspectives on the use, value, and meaning of landscapes.

Our investigation of the nature of community in prehispanic Honduras consequently will range from the house to the landscape, attending at each point to the possibility that multiple rights and multiple meanings may have been concretized by people forming communities through the integration of their own biographies and the life-histories of features of the built environment.

Case studies: Cerro Palenque and the Cuyumapa Valley

Places are always entwined in communities in specific historically contingent circumstances. They cannot be examined in the abstract, and so we offer here two case studies drawn from our field work in northern Honduras. At Cerro Palenque, the spatial distribution of architectural features, the

presence of unique features not replicated in smaller segments of the community, and consumption of distinctive styles of pottery and stone tools made it seem a simple thing to propose a self-conscious community identity for the past inhabitants. Along the Río Cuyumapa drainage, the failure of common architectural features to cluster densely around unique architectural complexes, and the failure of those unique architectural complexes to correlate with larger site size, made the task of identifying community boundaries seem impossible. We suggest that the contrast may actually be viewed as the result of identical processes of formation of, and contradiction between, multiple identities of the social agents who created these landscapes and used them to give meaning to their lives.

Cerro Palenque

Between 1980 and 1981, Joyce directed mapping of architectural features at this site, documenting over five hundred structures within an area of hills 2 × 1.5 km in extent (see Joyce 1991 for details). Mound groups occupy 26 ha within the site zone, distributed in four clusters. One small cluster of structures (CR-44, 1.9 ha), some with well executed cut stone construction, is located on the hilltop called Cerro Palenque. Other architectural remains are found densely clustered on ridgetops in the hills which stretch north from this peak. The central cluster, CR-157, extends from the north side of Cerro Palenque hill to a steep crevasse on the north. Two smaller clusters on the west (CR-171) and southeast (CR-170) are separated from this central core by their isolation on outlying ridges.

These sites are composed mainly of groups of small, low, cobble mounds, arranged in formally oriented, rectilinear groups or less formal, looser groups around small patios. Clusters of patio groups identified were interpreted as residences, like similar groups of small mounds arranged around patios in lowland Maya settlements (Ashmore 1981; Tourtellot 1983a, 1983b). Certain larger, taller mounds were located around open areas larger than the usual patios. Each of the four clusters in the Cerro Palenque site zone has at least one of these large plaza groups. The ridgetop spine of CR-157 is composed of a series of plazas, with many unique architectural features, including a ballcourt, two paved walkways, and a ramp. CR-170 and CR-171 each have a single, simpler plaza group. On the basis of excavation and comparison with other Mesoamerican sites, these plaza groups were identified as the public administrative, ceremonial, and possibly elite residential sectors of Cerro Palenque.

In 1982 and 1983 Joyce directed excavations confirming that the small mounds were platforms that supported cobble foundations for buildings raised on top, which included such features as built-in stone benches, with trash deposits located behind the buildings, on the raised platforms, or behind the platforms themselves. Ceramics from most excavations included

serving vessels of untempered fine paste decorated with plastic techniques (Joyce 1987b). In contrast the hilltop site, CR-44, produced serving vessels in the Ulua Polychrome style (Joyce 1987a, 1988, 1993a, 1993b). These two locations also showed differences in the proportions of local and exotic raw materials used in core-blade tool manufacture. Based on these artifact differences, the hilltop group was assigned a date during the local Late Classic period (c. AD 500–850). The rest of the buildings investigated in the site, including the complex architectural features of CR-157, were apparently built, used, and abandoned during a brief Terminal Classic occupation (c. AD 850–1050) during which settlement density rose dramatically.

Joyce concluded that all of the Terminal Classic groups could be described as a single community on the basis of a number of characteristics. Fine-paste serving vessels and large jars decorated with red painted designs, whose only variation was attributed to change through time, were common (Joyce 1987a, 1988). Flawed and discarded cores of poor-quality cherts and chalcedonies were found throughout the site, and between-group differences in frequency of these materials (in comparison to imported obsidian) were generally not as great as within-group differences between the middens of different buildings. Architectural form, size, and materials were similarly invariant, with distinctive materials almost entirely limited to non-residential settings.

Of course, each of these qualified statements of identity – red-painted jars "whose only variation was attributed to change through time," use of lithic materials where "between-group differences . . . were generally not as great as within-group differences," and "distinctive materials almost entirely" absent from residences – is simultaneously a statement of difference. There *is* variation in red-painted jars, there *are* between-group differences in the use of raw materials for lithics, and the materials used for buildings *do* vary. Archaeological authority who decides which is more significant, identity or variation, which is the signal and which the noise. The material culture of Terminal Classic Cerro Palenque looked uniform – or uniform enough.

The second set of observations that Joyce employed to strengthen her sense of the reality of community identity at Cerro Palenque was made on a higher scale, that of the site zone as a whole. The focus was significant contrasts between small mound groups associated with patios – construed as uniform – and larger mound groups associated with larger open plazas. A series of large terraces linked by ramps and cobble walkways to a monumental plaza flanked on the southwest by a major ballcourt at the core of CR-157 was unique. None of these features were replicated in the two plaza groups at CR-170 and CR-171. Instead, these plazas were composed of sets of large buildings framing three sides of a plaza, each plaza open in a direction that faces an impressive natural vista, Cerro Palenque or the Ulua River. Without speculating about what people might have done in and

around any of these buildings or plazas, Joyce nonetheless posited that whatever was done in the largest, most elaborated space was crucial to everyone in the site zone, and would have obliged everyone to use the unique major architectural complex at CR-157. The activities that went on in the smaller, less elaborated plazas of CR-170 and CR-171 she assumed were replicative and therefore did not oblige residents from one side of the site to pass to the other side to engage in distinctive activities.

Clearly we are no longer satisfied with the evasions in this original formulation, even though they were all justified in terms of standard assumptions of settlement archaeology (on the one hand) and household archaeology (on the other). The least-effort principal was applied to the circulation of people through the non-residential spaces of the site, hierarchical concentration of functions was construed from hierarchies in architectural volume, and differences in deployment of everyday possessions within residential settings were considered insignificant. We stress that we are not suggesting that the original conclusions were wrong. We continue to believe that the archaeological data indicate that the residents of the multiple clusters of buildings at Cerro Palenque were participants in largely congruent economic systems. We think it is reasonable to believe these residents were more likely to have been in face-to-face contact with each other than with residents of other areas. We think all the residents were likely to take part in, know about, or consider significant the activities for which massive architectural settings were prepared at CR-157. But these conclusions were certainly insufficient, and in particular, as propositions about community identity, they failed to come to terms with two crucial questions: why could shared material culture be interpreted as a sign of shared identity; and why should community identity be assumed to be singular and unproblematic, rather than plural and contested?

The Cuyumapa Valley

These new questions gained clarity as we embarked on a project in the Oloman (85 sq. km) and Cataguana (80 sq. km) valleys on the drainage of the Río Cuyumapa (Figure 8.1).[1] Air photo survey in 1988 was followed by field survey in 1989 and 1992. Excavations in 1990, 1992, and 1993 were focused on six sites. All of the excavated residential groups were occupied during the very end of the Classic and/or into the Early Postclassic (c. AD 700–1000).[2]

Inspection of air photos and field survey suggested a strong association between ancient water courses and the placement of structures. We wished to describe the distribution across the landscape of the buildings identified in such a way that associations with other built structures and with geographic features could be identified. We therefore treated the 511 mapped structures in the drainage as a single population (Table 8.1). To subdivide

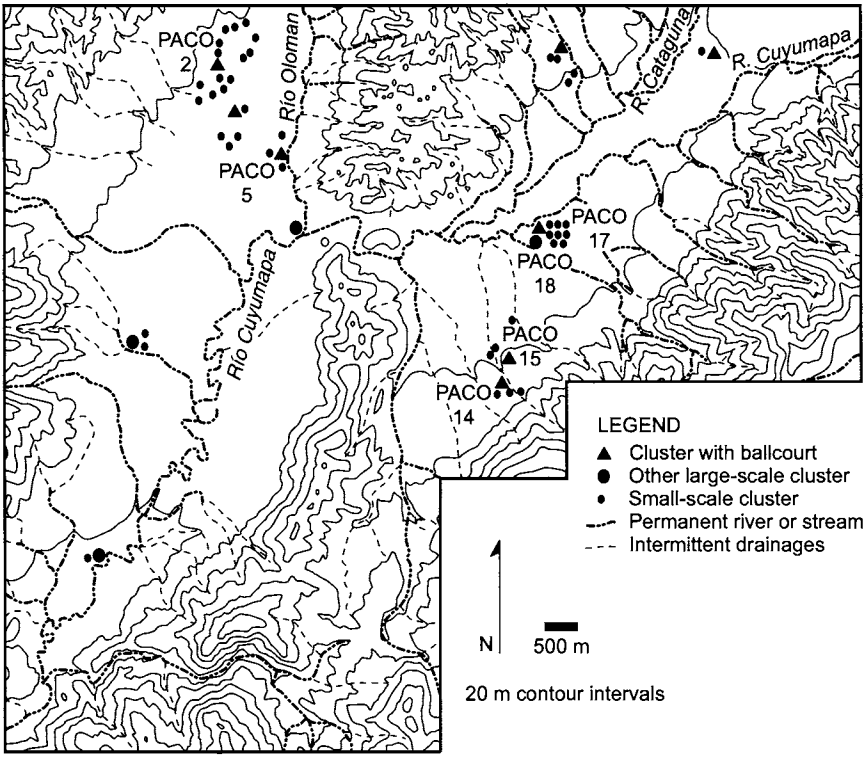

Figure 8.1 Cataguana and Oloman valleys on the lower Río Cuyumapa, Department of Yoro, Honduras, showing distribution of mapped structures

the population into classes of structures, we used computerized exploratory data analysis.

A bimodal distribution of structure height (Figure 8.2) divides the population into high (86 structures over 1.25 m tall) and low (462 structures up to 1.25 m tall) classes. By plotting length, width, and height on a three-dimensional graph, discontinuities between structures of absolute large- and small-scale became visible as a function of great size in a combination of dimensions. This analysis led us to identify a relatively homogeneous class of 456 small-scale structures, ranging to a maximum of 1.25 m in measured height, that co-occur in groups (Table 8.1). Most measure 3.4–8.48 m in length and 2.64–6.41 m in width.

In contrast, the large-scale structures in the sample are much more variable. Nonetheless, although this group of structures is internally heterogeneous, it is separated clearly from the small-scale structures (Table 8.1). It includes all the structures over 1.25 m tall, but also some broad but lower structures. Most measure approximately 15.8–30.6 m long and

Table 8.1 Dimensions of population of buildings in the PACO survey area.

Measures of central tendency of mapped structures				
	Range of 66%	*Mean*	*Median*	*Standard deviation*
length	1.6–13.18 m	7.39 m	5.57 m	5.79 m
width	1.18–12.10 m	5.46 m	4.31 m	4.28 m
area		60.25 m^2	24.04 m^2	
Measured dimensions of small-scale structures				
	Range of 100%	*Mean*	*Median*	*Standard deviation*
length	2.09–17.30 m	5.94 m	5.32 m	2.54 m
width	1.20–12.09 m	4.51 m	4.14 m	1.87 m
area	2.74–183.38 m^2	30.67 m^2	22.23 m^2	27.54 m^2
Measured dimensions of large-scale structures				
	Range of 100%	*Mean*	*Median*	*Standard deviation*
length	14.04–44.85 m	23.23 m	22.82 m	7.42 m
width	6.56–40.91 m	15.99 m	13.01 m	8.07 m
area	93.79–1834.80 m^2	397.44 m^2	289.51 m^2	327.21 m^2

Note: This table does not include partially destroyed structures, even if one dimension fell into the range for the class.

7.9–24.1 m wide. Included were seven examples of paired, parallel buildings, identified as ballcourts.

Structures belonging to the large- and small-scale classes were not distributed randomly across the landscape. They form spatial clusters. Most clusters are separated from one another by wide expanses of unbuilt land. Cluster boundaries were drawn so that structures aligned in sequence, or placed on the edges of apparent patios, were not separated from each other. Individual isolated structures, and those equidistant from neighboring clusters, were identified as unique locations. Based on these procedures, seventy-one separate clusters or locations were identified (Figure 8.1).

The majority of large-scale structures were associated with each other in clusters that usually also incorporated small-scale structures. The former include all seven ballcourts. A few large-scale structures were located in clusters otherwise made up only of small-scale structures, while the vast majority of the clusters were composed solely of small-scale structures. The degree to which small-scale clusters were concentrated near large-scale clusters varied substantially throughout the survey area. Good preservation of structures in the northwest and southeast sectors of the drainage allows a detailed examination of the association of small-scale clusters with large-scale clusters.

The northwest sector shows an apparent independence of distributions of small-scale clusters and two large-scale groups (Figure 8.1). Test excavations

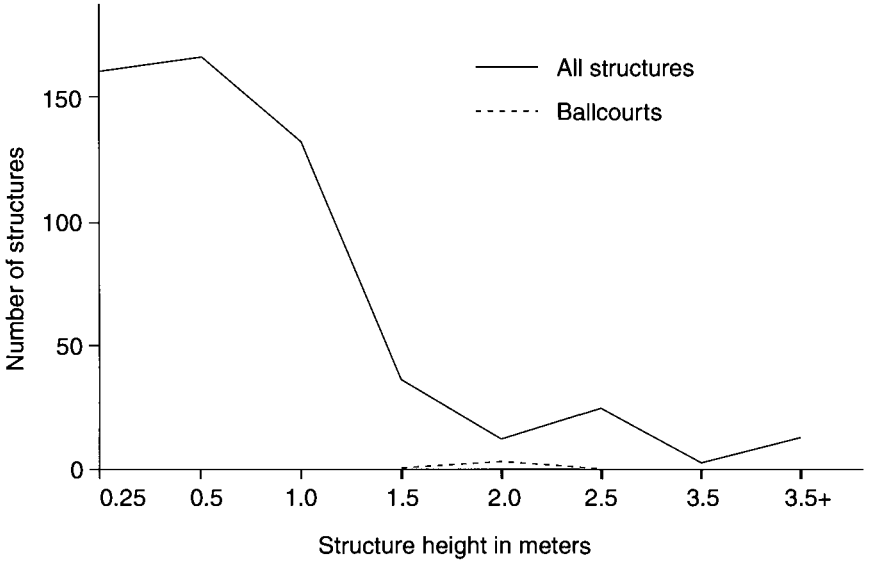

Figure 8.2 Frequency of mapped structures in the Cataguana and Oloman valleys by height

at the large-scale clusters established that they were occupied during the Late Classic to Terminal Classic period. These two large-scale clusters represent distinct degrees of labor investment: one a ballcourt and single flanking mound (PACO 2; Figure 8.3), the other made up of two plazas (PACO 5; Figure 8.4), incorporating a ballcourt twice as large. The hierarchical relationship between the two clusters in relative scale and number of features corresponds to their positions on the river drainage. PACO 5, the larger cluster, is located on the main river near a junction with a major tributary. PACO 2 is located upstream on this tributary.

Despite its larger scale and more central location, groups of small-scale structures are not nucleated around PACO 5. A total of twenty-nine small-scale clusters of from two to twenty-three mounds are evenly distributed along the tributary drainage. We suggest that they were located primarily in response to agricultural needs for reliable water supply and access to land, rather than reflecting administrative control or centralization.

Clusters with large-scale structures in the southeast Cataguana Valley show a similar hierarchy of scale, number of mounds, and location (Figure 8.1). Two clusters made up of a ballcourt and one additional large-scale structure are located upstream on a tributary of the Río Cuyumapa. They proved on excavation to represent different phases of occupation. The Late to Terminal Classic ballcourt at PACO 14 was built to replicate the dimensions and plan of the Late Formative to Early Classic ballcourt at PACO 15.

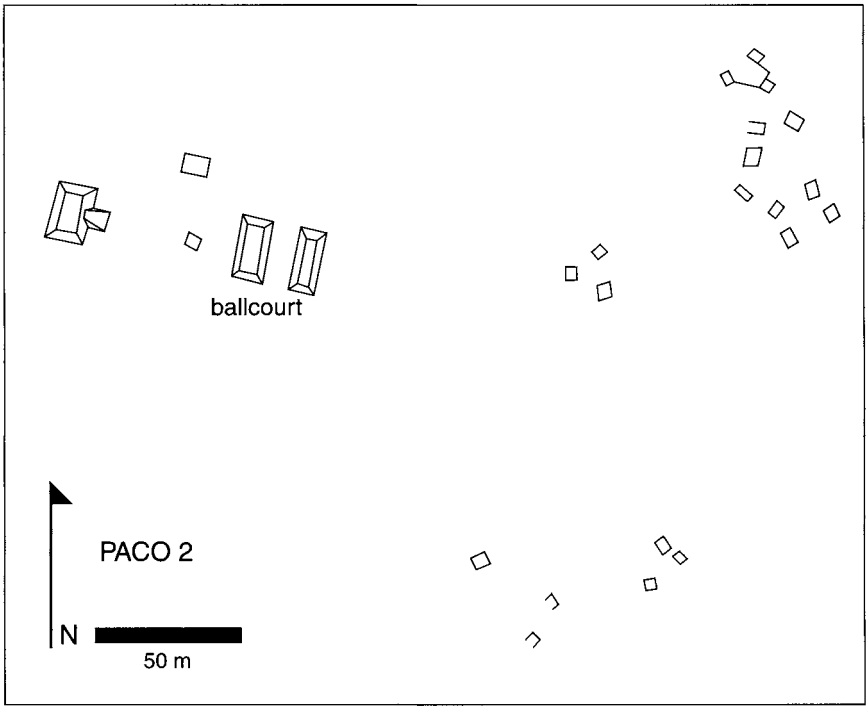

Figure 8.3 Ballcourt and flanking mound at PACO 2

Variation in orientation between the two most likely results from construction on steeply sloping foothills, since the alley is parallel to the slope in each case.

Contrasting with these tributary stream clusters, PACO 17, located directly on the bank of the Río Cuyumapa, is composed of a ballcourt and four large-scale structures forming a rectangular plaza. The ballcourt is significantly longer and the alley much wider than in either of the tributary cluster ballcourts. The nearest neighbor of PACO 17 is a unique large-scale cluster (PACO 18) that combines a single exceptionally tall, long, wide mound with two low platforms, one exceptionally broad. PACO 17 and PACO 18, located on the main river course, form a nucleus of large-scale architecture far greater than the architectural bulk of the two tributary clusters.

The distribution of small-scale clusters was organized somewhat differently than in the northwest sector. Of a total of eighteen clusters, six are relatively tightly distributed around the tributary ballcourt clusters, eleven extend east along the banks of the Río Cuyumapa from the major plaza and ballcourt cluster, and one occurs in isolation on a second tributary to the river. The number of structures mapped in each of the two sectors is

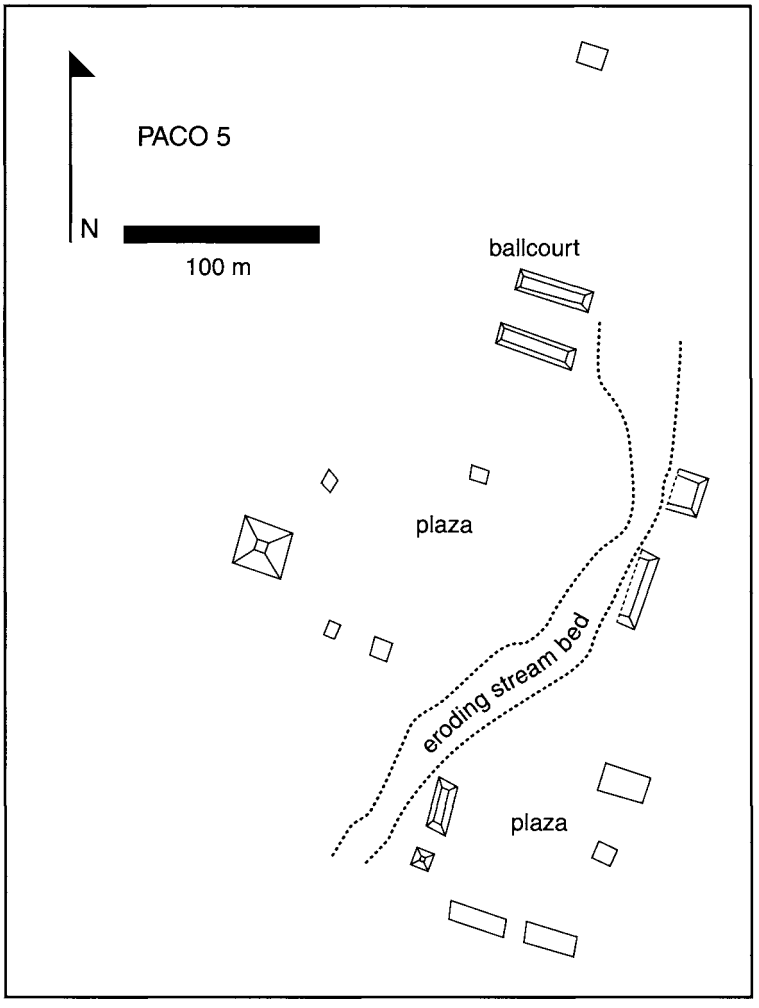

Figure 8.4 Ballcourt in plaza group at PACO 5

comparable: thirteen large-scale and 212 small-scale structures in the northwest Oloman Valley, and twenty-three large-scale and 183 small-scale structures in the southeast Cataguana Valley. The number of distinct levels of hierarchy also appears similar, and in each sector settlement is primarily located along waterways.

Internal diversity was strikingly evident in the behavior embodied in construction and placement of buildings within the Cuyumapa drainage. The different groups of buildings are not distributed in centralized patterns. Small-scale mound clusters are located fairly continuously along segments

of the drainage, and are not uniformly concentrated around the large-scale groups. In the northwest sector, the majority of small-scale clusters are in closest proximity to the less imposing of the large-scale groups, while in the southeast area, this relationship is reversed.

We also noted great diversity in the kinds of large-scale architectural features which formed the non-residential settings for individual action within the region. The southwest sector is unique in not incorporating any ballcourts within large-scale clusters. The way ballcourts are constructed and placed within clusters in the remaining sectors is not uniform. Despite a general tendency to orient ballcourts in plaza groups toward the northeast, and those in less formal complexes toward the southeast, each is different. Even the two ballcourts whose axes of orientation are almost identical vary in length and width of alley.

The location of ballcourts within sites also suggests diversity in practice. Four ballcourts in clusters with only one other large-scale structure are located east of their companion mound. However, while three have alleys oriented toward the flanking mound, one is perpendicular to it. Where ballcourts are found in plazas, two occupy the northwest corner of their plazas, but the third is on the southwest corner of its plaza. We suggest that this diversity reflects both freedom from centrally dictated expectations about the construction and use of ballcourts and active differentiation through their use.

Comparison

With approximately five hundred mapped small structures, both Cerro Palenque and the Cuyumapa drainage represent similar *social* scales, if we use number of residential structures as a proxy for number of people. But the two cases seemed very distinct analytically: one with nucleation of small mound groups around large-scale, special purpose architecture, the other with overlapping and non-congruent distributions of small mound groups and large-scale groups. With over five hundred structures concentrated in an area of 3 sq. km, Cerro Palenque is densely packed (167 structures per sq. km), contrasting with the dispersal of a similar number of structures across 165 sq. km in the Cuyumapa drainage (three structures per sq. km).

But at the same time, the number of non-residential structures in the two site zones is also virtually identical, indicating that the residents of the two areas had access to a similar number, and perhaps range, of places for less quotidian activities. The *diversity* of large-scale places is actually much greater in the Cuyumapa drainage, with multiple examples of structures that might be thought identical in function. To put this in its starkest form: at Cerro Palenque, a single ballcourt served a "community" of around five hundred houses; in the Cuyumapa drainage – leaving aside the one demonstrably early ballcourt – there was one ballcourt for every seventy-five

residential buildings. The complexity in use of these architectural assemblages implied by the diversity in their size, orientation, and integration with other buildings seemed counter-intuitive, not to be expected from a population of farmers thinly distributed across the landscape; at least not to be expected if material remains such as ballcourts were passive symptoms of certain forms of community identity, rather than means of asserting and contesting community formation.

Discussion

If materiality is a means through which social actors transform fleeting identities into historical facts, then the different forms of permanent marking of the landscape documented in these examples must be understood as the result of conscious actors using architecture to write different forms of community onto the landscape. We call this writing on the landscape *inscription*, using the terminology Paul Connerton (1989: 72–3) proposed for the process through which social memory is concretized and generalized. Connerton described a tension between "practices of bodily incorporation," through which individual performance of even stereotyped practices is experienced as open, and "practices of inscription", which by fixing performance in shared, material form attempt to constrain variation in understanding experience.

Bodily practices are intimate, internalized, and fleeting. They take place in what Michael Herzfeld calls social time,

> the grist of everyday experience . . . the kind of time in which events cannot be predicted but in which every effort can be made to influence them. . . . the time that gives events their reality, because it encounters each as one of a kind.
>
> (Herzfeld 1991: 10)

Inscriptional practices, in contrast, make more ephemeral actions and appearances permanent. They separate them from their locally situated position in the bodies and lives of particular persons and submit them to wider social comment and evaluation. Inscriptional practices facilitate the creation of histories, written in monumental time, which Herzfeld argues

> has the power to conceal the props of its management and to insist on the rightness of its results. . . . [it] is reductive and generic. It encounters events as realizations of some supreme destiny, and it reduces social experience to collective predictability. Its main focus is on the past – a past constituted by categories and stereotypes.
>
> Herzfeld (1991: 7–10)

Joyce (1998) argues that body ornaments and human images are media for the inscription and control of bodily practices at the scale of the individual subject. We suggest that the creation of places through the placement of buildings on the landscape is a larger scale mode of inscription that can also be understood as a way societies seek to concretize and generalize certain identifications, creating more enduring histories for specific identities by marking them permanently on the landscape.

In Mesoamerican sites a fundamental division of spatial settings, between domestic and public space, is often taken for granted. This conflates spatial scale with the nature of activities taking place in a setting. Smaller scale settings in Mesoamerican sites should not be defined as non-public because they were also the site of periodic performances (Hendon 1997, 1999) and may be integrated with other spatial settings by processional pathways (Kurjack 1979; Ringle 1999). In place of this dichotomy, we discuss variation in spatial organization in terms of intimacy (the scale of settings, varying from the interior of individual houses to great exterior plaza spaces), visibility (varying from the least visible contexts of subdivided interior spaces, to the omni-presence within sites and even regions of monumental architecture), and circulation frequency (ranging from everyday circulation in the house compound to the regular or opportunistic circulation to sites of ritual practice prescribed by calendars and events in individual lives). Participation in distinct practices varied from the intimacy of the interior space of the house, witnessed only by those with access to this location, to the visibility of raised, larger scale exterior platforms facing plazas, potential assembly spaces for many people. Different spatial settings combined or segregated the repetition of everyday practices, the punctuated, predictable timing of practices dictated by calendars, and the irregular but marked periodicity of the practices of life cycle ceremonies (cf. Conkey 1991: 66–81).

At least four distinct settings can be distinguished both at Cerro Palenque and in the Cuyumapa drainage. These include the interior spaces of individual, small-scale buildings, clustered in groups, identified through archaeological investigation as residential compounds, and the shared, small-scale open spaces, patios, around which these groups of buildings were arrayed. These two kinds of settings contrast with larger scale, open assembly spaces, plazas, and the interior spaces of monumental buildings arrayed around them, especially ballcourts, intimate but highly visible settings for action by small numbers of individuals.

This view of spatial settings identifies more and less hegemonic scales of performance (cf. Love 1999). Performances that were highly visible to larger segments of the population may be considered normative, creating a community with common experiences, a common social memory. Less visible, intimate performances taking place within small-scale buildings in house compounds, while potentially providing greater freedom from the

constraints of shared expectations generated by large-scale performances, lacked the widespread penetration throughout communities of users that would have been necessary for them to become accepted as precedents for general social practices.

The apparent freedom of action in the intimate, small-scale settings of the interiors of houses would have been partly counteracted by the temporal dimension of performance. The repetition of action over time implicit in circulation patterns was formalized at a highly visible scale by larger structures, but was equally present in the physical relations of individuals to the facilities on the interiors of houses. To the extent that houses themselves were constructed as citations of a vernacular architecture, the apparently unique experiences of their residents were constrained by similar conventions of building (see Steadman 1996: 64–72). Everyday citational practices within small-scale, intimate confines may have been the most effective media for the production of conformity because constraints would have been less obvious to the actor (Butler 1993: 93–119; cf. Bourdieu 1973). More formalized circulation through more visible large-scale and small-scale spatial settings, patios and plazas, timed by regular, shared calendars and periodic life-cycle events, may provide the best opportunity for the archaeological recovery of traces of citational practices through which identities were shaped and community formed. The formalization of action in these more visible settings bears the traces of performance as the compulsive repetition of precedent (Butler 1993: 95, 107–9).

That the site of Cerro Palenque spoke with one voice may be less a reflection of greater social integration than an artifact of the restriction of the scope of the landscape within which we view the site to a narrow 3 sq. km area. This narrowing of scope is an effect produced by the builders of the site through the deliberate location of clusters of buildings along the spine of the hills, naturalizing the cultural definition of boundaries by making them coincide with geographic features, steep ravines north and west, the floodplain on the east. The orientation of both residential and non-residential clusters throughout the site zone was manipulated to open vistas towards the earlier hilltop center, CR-44, visually incorporating even the most distant cluster into a single place with respect to this historical precedent.

The distant presence of other places, villages along the river like Santa Rita to the east, and Santana and Travesía to the north, was closed out visually and cognitively. All of these contemporary villages made and used unique types of red-painted jars (Joyce 1987a). Travesía incorporated non-residential architectural assemblages, including a ballcourt, and in the Late Classic period had employed stone carvings in a style also found at Cerro Palenque (Stone 1941). Inhabitants of some of the contemporary villages used different elaborated serving vessels in daily meals and feasts on special occasions. But the landscape constructed at Cerro Palenque by the use of space was one that insisted on its independence from these apparently connected contemporaries.

The Cuyumapa drainage is different primarily because it does not present an illusion of closure and completion. Nucleated, concentrically organized settlements with unique non-residential architectural features are absent, and the propositions of permanency and closure that such architectural settings represent are unmarked. Instead, clusters of buildings located on watercourses with access to arable land mark the landscape as one occupied by multiple communities of agriculturalists.

These same individuals simultaneously form the communities of users of two different kinds of places with ballcourts. Smaller scale ballcourts upstream on tributaries are centrally located with respect to the agricultural communities on these tributaries. Larger scale ballcourts located on major rivers are centrally located with respect to larger regions, perhaps located to facilitate travel from more dispersed locations along the rivers. The ballcourts in these two distinct kinds of locations also fall into two classes of playing field orientation. Smaller tributary ballcourts are oriented to the northeast, while larger, riverine ballcourts are oriented to the southeast. Among the possible determinants of this general difference, variation in the season of use is an especially intriguing possibility. Northeastern orientations would correspond to the direction of the rising sun in midsummer, while southeastern orientations correspond to the direction of the rising sun in midwinter (see Aveni 1980). We suggest that the ballcourts may have marked on the landscape the convocation of smaller scale communities at the end of the agricultural season, and of larger scale communities at midsummer, between planting and harvest.

The overlapping of distinct communities in the Cuyumapa drainage, with multiple scales of variation and multiple principles of settlement organization, can be seen as evidence of heterarchy. Carol Crumley (1987) defines heterarchy as an alternative to hierarchy, a form of complexity created by overlapping instead of nested social relations (see also Ehrenreich *et al.* 1995). She stresses the need to adopt an appropriate effective scale to perceive heterarchies. Heterarchy is an expression, we argue, of what Richard N. Adams (1975: 60–1, 210–11) calls horizontal relations of power, or coordination. In coordinate networks relative ranking forms a basis for joint action, rather than for the exercise of control.

The situation in the Cuyumapa drainage suggests a lack of closure in the materialization of unified, distinct, bounded community identities. The common ballcourts may have been patronized by multiple factions, each making its own claim to defining the enduring reality of some small segment of the regional landscape, each marking that landscape and creating a permanent tradition, a name to which later reference might be made by people who would come to think of themselves as joined together by the history materialized by these buildings, the memories they invoked, and the practices retraced within and around them.

At Cerro Palenque, the social landscape speaks with a single voice, and claims that a single community moved through a place anchored by the

hill, site of the earliest settlement. This place is eminently hierarchical, bounded by geographical features exploited as the settings of the most distant peripheral clusters of houses, focused visually and spatially on the hill and the ridgetop plaza. In the center of this place, terraces, paved walkways, and monumental buildings channel movement into an ever-narrowing corridor leading to the ballcourt, perched on a final spine of the ridge. The repetition of features, like the twin paved walkways and paired ramps, provided precedents within the place itself for each major unifying feature. What this visual architectural closure, hierarchy, and integration denied was the reality that Cerro Palenque was not the long-standing and stable core of a centralized community, but rather the result of a brief and rapid building program.

At Cerro Palenque and within the Cuyumapa drainage, places were given historical weight by the construction of larger scale settings for actions distinct from those of everyday life in the small-scale residential clusters. The historicizing weight of major architectural settings resulted from deliberate actions by populations of similar size engaged in the same range of activities in both regions. In one, the lack of long-term history was addressed through the testimony of a deliberately crafted large-scale setting for the enactment of a common, hegemonic community identity. In the other, multiple long-term historical identities continued to be marked on the landscape in distinct settings and enacted through heterarchical participation in practices there.

Notes

1 Joyce, Sheptak, Hendon, Fung and Gerry (1989) and Hendon and Joyce (1993) present details. Data from specific excavations are contained in dissertations and papers by John G. Fox (1994, 1996) and Christopher Fung (1995a, 1995b), but the conclusions of these two authors differ in some points from ours.

2 The latest components at sites without radiocarbon dates cannot be assigned uniquely to one of these periods, since Early Postclassic ceramics continue Terminal Classic forms.

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9

GENDER, STATUS, AND COMMUNITY IN EARLY FORMATIVE VALDIVIA SOCIETY

James A. Zeidler

Introduction

In the past twenty-five years considerable information has been amassed on the nature of the community in Early Formative Valdivia society of coastal Ecuador, making it an especially relevant case study for a volume such as this one. As one of the earliest examples of sedentary village life based on multicrop agriculture in the New World (Piperno and Pearsall 1998), Valdivia culture is of particular interest because of its relatively long duration (2,800 years) and the dramatic series of social transformations that occurred during this time span (see Table 9.1 for the Valdivia cultural chronology employed in this study).[1] The corporate kin community is the locus of social change throughout this sequence, and some of these nucleated village sites have revealed archaeological evidence of emergent hereditary inequality and increasing complexity in settlement structure, social ranking, and ceremonialism. That is, initial "kin-based inequalities, such as rank . . . [may have been] transformed into political and economic control" (Gailey 1987: xii) in later phases of the sequence. A thorough understanding of such historical processes demands a consideration of the organizational principles of kin communities involving gender, age (or life status), and kin roles, even if these principles are archaeologically difficult to document. We must understand how these principles were employed as social strategies of domination (or resistance), and how they were situationally redefined over time.

For the Valdivia case, gender is an important place to start. Conkey and Gero (1991: 5) have noted that one of the goals of an engendered archaeology should be "to 'find' women in archaeological contexts and to identify their participation in gender relations, gender ideologies, and gender roles . . ."

Table 9.1 Valdivia cultural chronology based on calibrated radiocarbon determinations and thermoluminescence assays

Temporal grouping	*Ceramic phase*	*BC chronology*	*Duration*
Terminal	Phase 8	1800–1600 BC	200 yrs
	Phase 7	1950–1800 BC	150 yrs
Late	Phase 6	2100–1950 BC	150 yrs
	Phase 5	2250–2100 BC	150 yrs
Middle	Phase 4	2400–2250 BC	150 yrs
	Phase 3	2800–2400 BC	400 yrs
	Phase 2b	3000–2800 BC	200 yrs
Early	Phase 2a	3300–3000 BC	300 yrs
	Phase 1b	3800–3300 BC	500 yrs
	Phase 1a	4400–3800 BC	600 yrs

Source: After Marcos and Michczynski 1996: Table 4

The ultimate goal, then, is to determine how *both* genders are culturally constructed and how they interact in a given case. This may require that special attention be given to the identification of women in the archaeological record to redress earlier biases. But, as Nelson has recently observed,

> gender is not a code word for women, and gendered archaeology is *not* another way of finding women in prehistory disguised with a more neutral and inclusive term. Both women and men – people as individuals as well as in groups – become more visible in studying gender. Other constructed roles, activities, and behaviors, such as ethnicity, age, and class, may also become visible in the course of researching gender.
>
> (Nelson 1997: 15; emphasis original)

This is one of the benefits of a gendered archaeology and one that can bring fresh insights to the study of ancient community organization.

In Valdivia research, gender distinctions have been identified in terms of inferred male/female task differentiation in household activity areas (Zeidler 1984), in terms of mortuary patterning (Klepinger 1979; Lathrap *et al.* 1977; Marcos 1988a), and in terms of stylistic interpretations of changing figurine imagery throughout the sequence (Marcos 1988a, 1988b; Marcos and Manrique 1988). Thus women have been "found" in archaeological contexts, but their active participation in gender relations, gender ideologies, and gender roles has not been explored in a satisfactory way.

In this study, I focus on the issues of gender and status in Valdivia community structure using empirical data derived from mortuary practices and ceramic figurine iconography, two areas of archaeological inquiry where gender attribution is relatively straightforward. Two female burial contexts from disparate points in time and space are discussed: one from a Phase 3

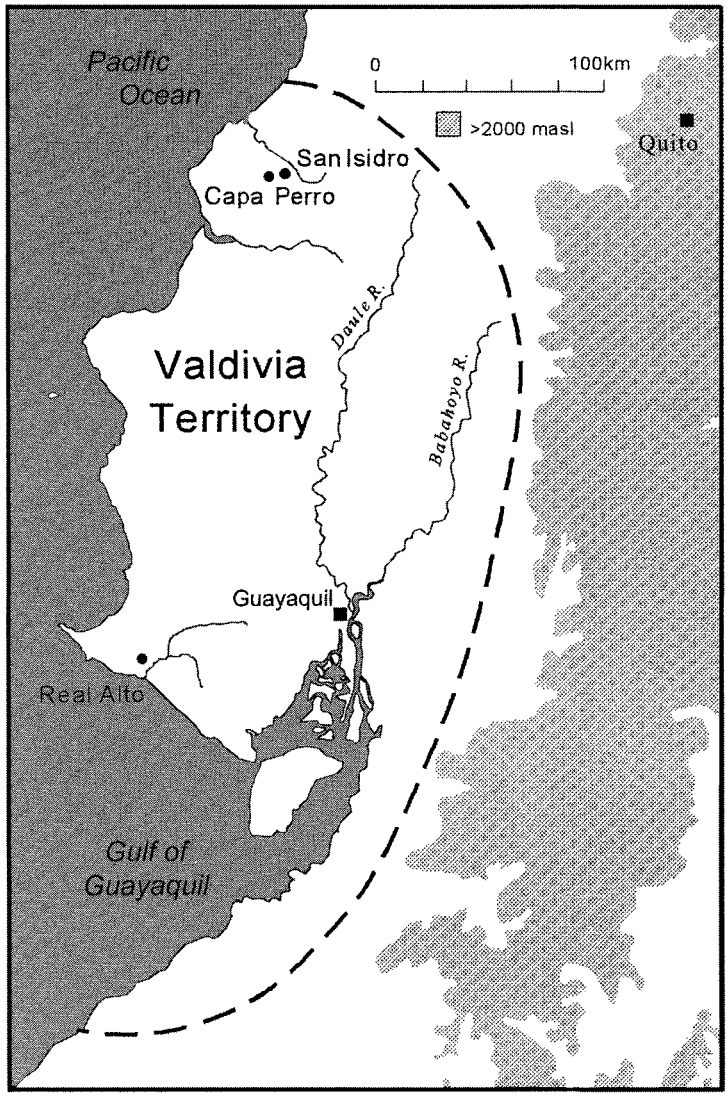

Figure 9.1 Map of coastal Ecuador, showing maximal extent of Valdivia territory (at Phase 8) and the location of the Real Alto and San Isidro/Capa Perro archaeological sites

Charnel House at Real Alto in coastal Guayas Province (2800–2400 BC), and the other from a Phase 8 satellite community of San Isidro in northern Manabí Province (1800–1600 BC; see Figure 9.1). The contextual associations of these interments make it very clear that women played a more significant role in the political and ritual life of Valdivia communities than

is commonly acknowledged in previous archaeological literature. Valdivia figurine iconography is then brought to bear on the dynamic role of women and gender imagery in domestic and community ritual throughout the 2,800 year sequence. It is argued that by Phase 3, prominent leadership roles were occupied by senior female members of an apical corporate group, possibly through hereditary succession, and that by Phase 8 (and probably earlier) females assumed significant roles in ceremonialism and shamanistic ritual. No argument is made that women filled these roles exclusively. However, their active participation in political leadership and ceremonial rites requires careful scrutiny if we are to fully understand the nature of community life and social interaction in this Early Formative culture.

The dynamics of Valdivia community organization

The dynamic nature of Valdivia community organization has been well documented at sites such as Real Alto in coastal Guayas Province (Figure 9.1), in terms of both the domestic sphere and the political/ceremonial sphere. Here major transformations in the size and internal complexity of the site can be traced from Early to Middle Valdivia times. Archaeological evidence suggests that the Valdivia Phase 1 and 2 village consisted of small houses dispersed around a central open space in a circular or U-shaped pattern. By analogy to contemporary indigenous villages, such as the Gê-Bororo groups of central Brazil, archaeologists argue that such patterns reveal early ideological expressions demarcating sacred and profane space and dual social organization. Excavations at Real Alto reveal the beginnings of a ceremonial plaza and mound-building as early as Valdivia Phase 2. By Phase 3, the site grew to over 12 ha in size and exhibited a central ceremonial precinct with dual mound constructions surrounded by an open elongated plaza and an outer ring of domestic structures. The overall site plan, as well as individual domestic and ceremonial structures, exhibits a marked intercardinal orientation that was very likely associated with a range of celestial phenomena found in the ethnoastronomies of native groups elsewhere in lowland South America (Urton 1981, 1982; Zeidler 1984, 1992, forthcoming).

A clear segregation occurs within funerary ritual with the construction of a charnel house (Structure 7; see Figure 9.2) on one of the ceremonial mounds. The opposing mound was the locus of ceremonial structures very likely used for ritual feasting activities beginning as early as Phase 2 (Marcos 1988a). Subsequent increase of ceremonialism is suggested through the appearance of rebuilt public structures, delineated plazas, and axial alignments. By Late Valdivia (Phases 6–7), Real Alto appears to have evolved into a ceremonial center with a reduced on-site population supported by outlying hamlets (e.g. Damp 1979, 1984; Lathrap *et al.* 1977; Marcos 1978, 1988a; Marcos *et al.* 1976; Marcos and Norton 1981; Raymond 1993; Stahl 1984, 1985; Zeidler 1984, 1986). By Phase 8, the earlier settlement pattern

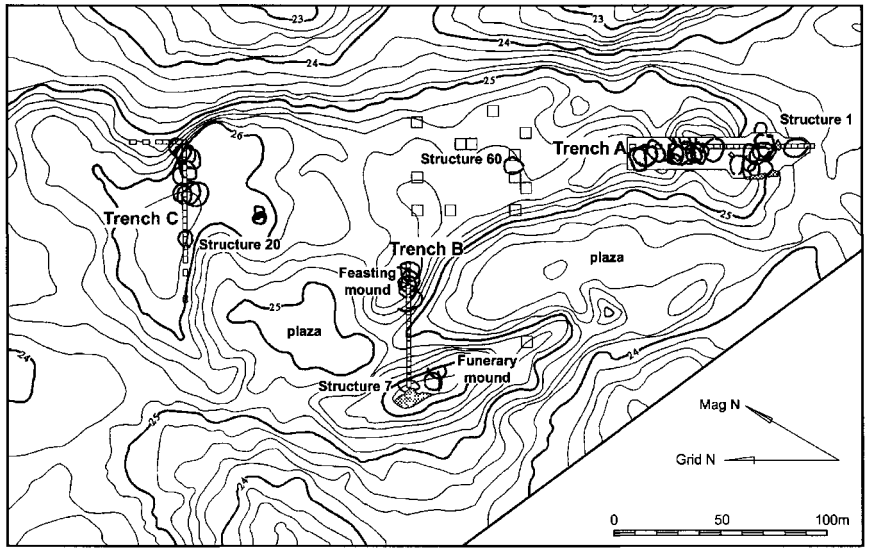

Figure 9.2 Valdivia occupation at Real Alto site, coastal Guayas Province

in coastal Guayas appears to fragment into small isolated homesteads while new settlement hierarchies with large ceremonial centers with small satellite communities spring up in well-watered inland valleys to the north (northern Manabí Province) and south (El Oro Province). Mound-building activity again characterizes Terminal Valdivia ceremonialism but this time on a much larger scale (Staller 1992–93, 1994; Zeidler 1991).

These well-documented shifts in settlement hierarchy, community plan, domestic architecture, and ceremonialism (as well as other archaeological indicators) all point to an increase in social complexity and the development of social inequality between Phases 1 and 8 (4400–1600 BC). Several aspects of Valdivia community organization have been productively explored through analogies with the "dialectical" Gê-Bororo societies of central Brazil based on structural similarities in village spatial plan, especially the basic spatial properties of concentric dualism, diametric dualism, and quadripartition (Lathrap *et al.* 1977; Zeidler 1984, 1992, forthcoming).[2] Here village layout is conceived as both a *sociogram* and a *cosmogram* (Turner 1996) that "act as communicative or mnemonic devices expressing or reaffirming through symbolic associations relations between groups, or positions held by individuals within a culture's framework" (Lawrence and Low 1990: 466), or relations to the movement of celestial bodies and the cosmos (Zeidler forthcoming). However, insufficient attention has been paid to precisely those areas of Valdivia social organization and community plan where the Gê-Bororo analogies *do not* apply. For unlike the contemporary Brazilian

societies that provide useful analogies for Early and Middle Valdivia village plans, the nature of Valdivia leadership, status hierarchy, and corporate group identity changed notably during the long cultural sequence – changes that have no counterpart in the essentially static Gê-Bororo analogies. In particular, the role of gender in defining positions of leadership and authority throughout the long sequence has not been adequately explored.

It cannot be denied that the Gê-Bororo model of exogamous moieties, age-sets, men's houses in the public space of the plaza, matri-uxorilocal households in the domestic space of the outer ring, and polisegmentary village organization (Crocker 1969, 1985; Turner 1979, 1982, 1996; see also Dole 1991; Gross 1979) provide a rather provocative set of analogies for interpreting the nature of Valdivia 3 community patterning, especially in terms of village spatial configuration (Lathrap *et al.* 1977; Marcos 1988a; Zeidler 1984, 1992, forthcoming). An unfortunate consequence of this analogy, however, is that the Fiesta House mound is assumed to be structurally analogous to a Gê-Bororo men's house (e.g. Marcos 1988a: 40–1). By extension, males are assumed to be uniquely associated with village political and ceremonial life, while women are assumed to be exclusively associated with the domestic sphere. However, several features of Valdivia society stand out as having no counterpart in the Gê-Bororo model and point to a breakdown in the applicability of the analogy. These include: (1) public mound-building activity within the ceremonial precinct of the plaza; (2) the Charnel House as an exclusive burial facility in the ceremonial precinct; (3) the interment of an adult *female* in the principal crypt at the threshold of this mortuary structure; (4) the presence of infant and juvenile burials in the structure, suggesting ascribed status; and (5) the ubiquity and strong asymmetrical gender imagery of Valdivia figurines. Several of these features suggest that the level of political complexity represented by the Phase 3 village configuration at Real Alto was greater than that documented in the ethnographic literature of Central Brazil.[3] Moreover, they suggest that certain aspects of Valdivia community structure (i.e. gender and status) are not being recognized or correctly interpreted due to what Wobst (1978) has termed "the tyranny of the ethnographic record," as well as androcentric bias in earlier archaeological interpretations.

Valdivia mortuary behavior in Phases 3 and 8

One of the most revealing data sets for interpreting social status and the role of gender in prehistoric society is mortuary behavior. Little of this information has been systematically assembled for Valdivia society, but a general summary may be found in Zeidler, Stahl, and Sutliff (1998). For present purposes, I note only that the Valdivia "burial program" (*sensu* Brown 1981: 31) was quite variable with regard to forms and contexts of interment, and generally impoverished with regard to the inclusion of grave

goods or any items of material wealth. Where grave inclusions occur, they are usually restricted to adult burials and are minimal in quantity, but can include ceramic figurines, stone axes, shell ornaments, and miscellaneous food items. It is against this background that the special mortuary practices discussed below must be examined.

The two female burial contexts that are the focus of this study differ notably from this broad characterization. The first is from the Phase 3 Charnel House at Real Alto and the other from a Phase 8 satellite community of San Isidro. The first burial (Burial XXIV) consisted of an adult female in a unique stone-lined crypt at the threshold of the Phase 3 Charnel House. The second consisted of a sub-adult female associated with a rich assortment of grave goods with distinctly shamanistic implications. The first burial is unique for the special nature of the burial facility and its placement within the Phase 3 village configuration, while the second is significant for the uncommon amount and shamanistic nature of the grave goods associated with a sub-adult female interment. When examined in this light, the prominent place accorded women in these mortuary contexts is especially noteworthy.

Intensive excavations at the Real Alto site (Klepinger 1979; Lathrap *et al.* 1977; Marcos 1978, 1988a; Marcos *et al.* 1976; Zeidler 1984) yielded a sample of over a hundred individuals spanning Phases 1 through 7, seventy-two of which pertain to Phase 3. Even the contemporaneous Phase 3 burials from Real Alto demonstrate a remarkable degree of mortuary variability indicative of a complex "burial program." The wide variability represented by these Phase 3 mortuary practices at Real Alto suggests equally varied energy expenditure in tomb preparation, funerary ritual, and treatment and disposal of the corpse. These practices no doubt obeyed a set of philosophical-religious beliefs which provided the ideological underpinning for a simple, yet clearly hierarchical social order.

First, there is a clear segregation between ceremonial (sacred) and domestic (profane) burial within the village limits. Interment in the Phase 3 Charnel House of the central ceremonial precinct appears to have been the prerogative of a distinct high status social group (Lathrap *et al.* 1977; Marcos 1978, 1988a). Here the remains of some twenty individuals were recovered, eleven on the interior floor area and wall trench on the northern half of the structure and nine in a tomb complex underneath the threshold of the structure (Marcos 1988a: 163). At least three of the eleven individuals found inside the structure were juveniles, one of whom had associated grave goods including a ceramic figurine and fourteen *Spondylus* beads and another a polished stone axe (Marcos 1988a: 169–70).

Of special importance was the placement of an adult female within the threshold tomb complex in a special crypt lined with fragmented manos and metates (Lathrap *et al.* 1977: 9–10; Marcos 1988a: 165). The threshold tomb complex also contained the remains of a spatially isolated, partially disarticulated male and secondary interments of seven additional males (one

adult and six sub-adults). Although these male burials were previously interpreted as sequential sacrificial offerings to the female burial (Lathrap *et al.* 1977: 10), Klepinger (1979: 308) convincingly argues that the close association of an adult female, two adult males and six sub-adults of various ages is suggestive of a high status family group. Likewise the inclusion of juvenile burials in the charnel house suggests that status differences "must have been at least in part hereditary, since young children would have had little opportunity to achieve honor" (Klepinger 1979: 308; see also Zeidler 1984: 637–40 for further elaboration of this point). While it is true that associated grave goods are sparse in these charnel house interments and do not differ appreciably from those found in domestic burials, this should not be interpreted as evidence for the lack of status distinctions during the Phase 3 occupation at Real Alto. I would agree with Brown (1981: 29; emphasis added) that "contrary to some statements in the literature, wealth distinctions are not as indicative of specific social variables as are rights to *symbolically special burial locations*" such as a charnel house located in the central ceremonial precinct of a large village.

The second burial context of interest here comes from the large multicomponent Capa Perro site (M3D2–065; Figure 9.1), which first appeared in the extensive alluvial bottomland of the Jama Valley during Terminal Valdivia times as one of several satellite communities near San Isidro (M3D2–001), the valley's major civic-ceremonial center throughout most of its 3,500–year prehistoric sequence (Zeidler 1994a, 1994b; Zeidler, Buck, and Litton 1998). A Terminal Valdivia burial context (Feature 2) was fully exposed through lateral excavation (Figure 9.3; Zeidler, Stahl, and Sutliff 1998). The burial is that of a young adult female with no observable skeletal pathologies, laying in a fully extended supine position with the cranium turned toward the right shoulder. Both arms are extended along the thoracic region and crossed at the wrist above the pelvic area, while the lower extremities are extended and slightly twisted towards the right side. It is also likely that post-interment compaction has affected the position of the skeleton and has contributed to fracturing of the cranium. Age at death is estimated at 15 to 20 years (D. Ubelaker, personal communication, 1995). The assorted grave goods associated with this burial are of considerable interest as they shed light on shamanistic ritual. These include the following items: a miniature ceramic vessel (*coquero*) with Late Valdivia incised design motifs; a polished and perforated greenstone pendant; a concentration of unmodified claystone; a ceramic figurine located within a fragmented feline snout; and the osseous remains of a bat. Continuities with some of these themes can be traced back to earlier phases of the Valdivia cultural continuum, arguing for the progressive development of shamanistic ritual in Early Formative Ecuador.

By far the most intriguing find associated with this Terminal Valdivia burial was a fragmented ceramic figurine (Figure 9.4) found nestled within

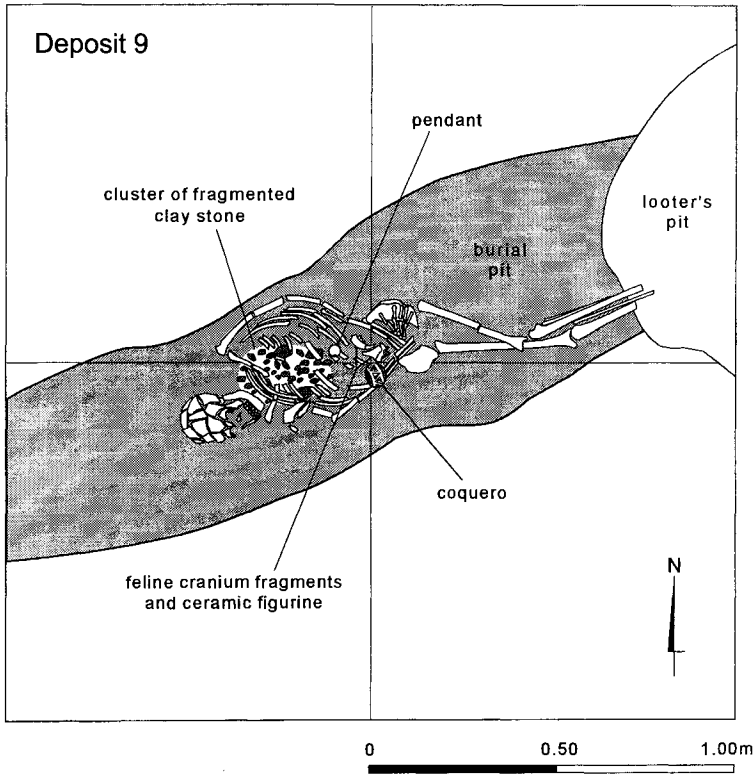

Figure 9.3 Burial 1 at the Capa Perro site, northern Manabí Province

the disarticulated remains of a feline snout. These remains, in turn, were capped by a large fragment of ground stone. Ground stones, especially in the form of manos and metates, appear as ceremonial items and burial inclusions throughout the archaeological record of Valdivia (Marcos 1988a: 165; Marcos *et al.* 1976: 5; Staller 1994: 330). The figurine, standing only 6 cm tall, bears a polished, red-slipped torso with unusually bulbous proportions and short stubby arms and legs. As is common in the Valdivia figurine tradition, the specimen appears to have been intentionally "mutilated" prior to interment. The facial features show clear affinities with the Late Valdivia "Chacras" style of central Manabí (see especially Lathrap *et al.* 1975: Specimen 114), on the basis of its protruding beaked nose and slanted arched lines to mark the eyes. Unlike most Valdivia figurines, this piece lacks distinctive gender characteristics. It is also stylistically different from the other Terminal Valdivia figurines found throughout the middle Jama valley which are characterized by their large size, seated posture, and circular flattened head (e.g. Schávelzon 1981).

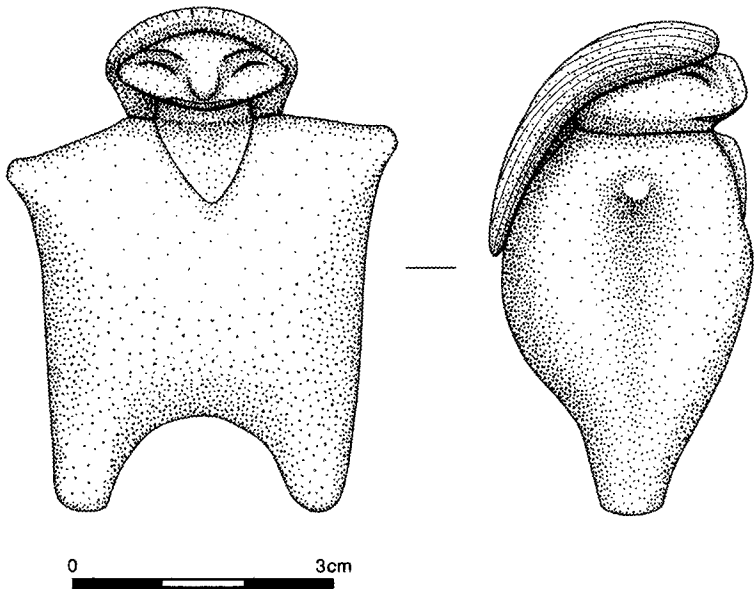

Figure 9.4 Chacras-style ceramic figurine from Burial 1 at the Capa Perro site, northern Manabí Province

The figurine was found in association with the disarticulated cranial fragments of a medium-sized feline, identified as an ocelot (*Felis pardalis*). The feline remains included both maxillary and mandibular elements, which prior to overburden compaction likely represented the whole snout. These rostral elements have been interpreted as possibly representing the facial portion of a feline skin used as a cape or poncho. Such skins are known to have been utilized as shamanic apparel, both ethnographically and archaeologically in western Ecuador (Di Capua 1986; Zeidler, Stahl, and Sutliff 1998). The young woman might have been buried with the skin poncho placed over her, the head resting in her abdominal area with the fragmented figurine placed in its jaw (Zeidler, Stahl, and Sutliff 1998).

The coalescence of various material associations within this Terminal Valdivia burial provides convincing evidence that mortuary ritual practiced in the Jama Valley over 3,000 years ago was analogous to shamanism, eschatology, and beliefs in the afterlife common to many indigenous groups in the tropical lowlands of South America. Because space does not permit detailed treatment of these analogies (see Zeidler, Stahl, and Sutliff 1998 for full discussion), I shall highlight only the feline remains associated with the burial. The intimate relationship between shamans and felines is well known. Furst (1968: 163) has argued that under spiritual alteration, a transformation between shamans and jaguars does not necessarily take place;

rather, the shaman realizes the jaguar that exists within. As a key feature in ecstatic human/animal metamorphosis, the feline thus assumes an important role as mediator or messenger for otherworldly realms (e.g. Lathrap 1973: 97). It is therefore not surprising that inside the feline mouth is an anthropomorphic figurine. An essential feature of the shaman rests upon his/her interpretive power, gained from ecstatic flight to hidden worlds where understanding is achieved with the aid of intermediary spirit helpers. If, as Stahl (1986: 141) has suggested, Valdivia figurines functioned "as repositories for spirits contacted by the shaman during ecstatic visits to hidden domains," then this contextual relationship is understandable. In many lowland South American societies, the afterlife of shamans is conceptually distinct from that of other members of society (see, for example, Wilbert 1975: 170–4), especially in their ability to "return after death." This is why the interment of a deceased shaman might include items of his or her ritual paraphernalia, in this case a jaguar skin, since their use would continue after death. Such a distinction might also explain the uniqueness of the Burial 1 grave inclusions when compared to the corpus of other Valdivia burials documented to date.

I would argue that the Capa Perro burial and its associated remains indicate the active participation of women in shamanistic ritual during the Terminal Valdivia occupation of northern Manabí, and the persistence of ascribed social status accorded certain female members of Valdivia society. It is important to emphasize that these particular grave features were associated with the remains of a sub-adult female whose relatively young age would seem to preclude the attainment of achieved status sufficient to merit such unique grave offerings. Special mortuary treatment of females and of sub-adults and juveniles is a pattern which has clear precedents in Phase 3 Charnel House at Real Alto and provides reasonably strong evidence for ascribed hereditary ranking. The mortuary ritual documented at Capa Perro may be further evidence for such ranking in a Terminal Valdivia (Phase 8) context.

Valdivia figurine iconography

Perhaps no other material category of Valdivia culture has received as much attention as the famed "venus" figurines. Their exact functions continue to be debated, but they are unanimously implicated in ancient ceremonial activities. The repetition of an overtly feminine form at first prompted speculation about a "fertility cult" similar to cults suggested for Neolithic cultures of other world areas (Estrada 1956: 8, 1958: 26; Zevallos and Holm 1960: 10). Such early interpretations simply offered a single all-encompassing explanation for figurine use with no consideration for the nuances of stylistic variability, archaeological context, or temporal placement in a long sequence of figurine evolution. In her discussion of Neolithic female

figurines, Nelson (1997: 154) has observed that "one of the problems with many interpretations of . . . female figures is that they attempt to make a simple explanation cover a large variety of manifestations that have nothing in common other than the fact that they have breasts." The same is true of many recent interpretations of Valdivia figurines. Although interest in fertility, particularly connected to agriculture, has persisted (Holm 1987: 11; Zevallos 1971: 23), alternative functional interpretations have represented figurines as effigies (Damp 1979: 74), good luck amulets (Lubensky 1991: 31), votives in rain ceremonies (Porras 1973: 145), and male-focused sex objects (Bruhns 1991).

More subtle functional interpretations have resulted in cases where archaeologists have recognized stylistic variability, contextual associations, and chronology. Much of the literature has stressed a probable role in curing ritual (Evans and Meggers 1958: 181; Evans *et al.* 1959: 10; Lundberg 1977; Meggers 1966: 41; Meggers *et al.* 1965: 108; Porras 1973: 145), particularly within the context of ecstatic shamanism (Stahl 1984: 176; 1986). Both Lathrap (Lathrap *et al.* 1975) and Marcos (1988b; Marcos and Manrique 1988) have noted the appearance of miniature zoomorphic "shaman's stools" associated with Valdivia 3 figurines and explicit "shaman effigies" with ritual attire (feline headdresses) occurring in Phase 4, where they double as hallucinogenic snuff inhalers (Marcos 1988b: Figura 3; Marcos and Manrique 1988: Figura 4a). Interestingly, these somewhat atypical specimens were recovered in the ceremonial precinct at Real Alto, thus suggesting a specialized ritual function. Clearly, the unique contextual association of the Chacras-style figurine with a feline mandible and ceramic lime pot (*coquero*) in Burial 1 at Capa Perro points to their use as shamanic paraphernalia in Terminal Valdivia (Phase 8) times. Thus a close association between shamanism and ceramic figurines can be traced throughout most of the Valdivia sequence.

In spite of the prevalent "venus" connotation of Valdivia figurines, some archaeologists have speculated on the depiction of both sexes in early figurine art (Holm 1987: 10; Lathrap *et al.* 1975: 39; Marcos 1988b: 175; Marcos and Manrique 1988: 37). While a few explicitly male figurines have been documented (e.g. Marcos 1988b: 327), they are far less common than the female variety or even the occasional ungendered variety (Lundberg 1977). Although no precise figures have been published, it is likely that explicitly male representations comprise less than 5 per cent of any assemblage. It is important to note, however, that even the "maleness" of these figurines has been questioned. Di Capua (1994; see also 1973: 110), for example, has suggested that figurine variability with respect to purported gender differences can be explained by reference to physical stages of feminine development. She suggests their use in rituals pertaining to female puberty, a point also repeated by others (Damp 1979: 75; Holm 1987: 11) and one to which we shall return below. Some female figurines also appear to depict advanced stages of pregnancy.

Possible depictions of both sexes have also been suggested in cases where they appear in different guises on the same figurine. Marcos and Manrique (1988) have referred to this as a "fertility–virility dualism" especially characteristic of the Early Valdivia phases in both stone and clay varieties. Even many of the classic "venus" clay figurines of Phases 2 and 3, with prominent depictions of breasts and buttocks and "hooded" hair coiffure, were noted to have an overall phallic appearance in which the hood replicated the glans of the penis. Marcos and Manrique (1988) make the important point that there is a *cumulative* evolutionary trend in figurine variability beginning with the phallic–feminine stone and clay figurines of Early Valdivia (Phases 1 and 2), to explicit depictions of both sexes in Phase 3 (albeit strongly skewed toward the feminine variety), to representations of shamanic figures in ritual attire in Phase 4. There is also a gradual increase in ungendered figurines in the later phases of the Valdivia sequence. Throughout, however, the "venus" motif persists. They convincingly argue that these stylistic trends are intimately and logically tied to the evolution of the Real Alto site itself from a expanding nucleated village (Phases 1–5) to a ceremonial center with satellite communities (Phases 6 and 7). Phase 3, then, represents the "florescence" of figurine use when Real Alto attains its maximal size and highest on-site population. Presumably, then, fertility and population growth would have been encouraged at this time (Marcos and Manrique 1988), in keeping with the shift to large extended family households by Phase 3 (Zeidler 1984).

Contextual associations have been increasingly important in understanding the nature and periodicity of figurine use and discard. Many have noted the ubiquity of fragmented (and possibly deliberately mutilated) "venus" figurines throughout domestic house floor deposits, in refuse pits, and in general midden (Lundberg 1977; Raymond 1993; Stahl 1984, 1986; Zeidler 1984). They apparently experience a decrease in importance and ubiquity through time, however. In Structure 1 at Real Alto, for example, some ninety-four figurines or figurine fragments were recovered in the floor deposits, while Structure 20 yielded thirty specimens (Zeidler 1984; Figure 9.2 herein). Both domestic structures date to Phase 3. In a Phase 7 domestic structure at Real Alto (Structure 60), however, only eight specimens were recovered from the floor deposits (Kreid 1985; Figure 9.2 herein). Figurines also occur as occasional mortuary offerings, and, at Real Alto, they have been documented in refuse areas and floor deposits of the ceremonial precinct from Phase 2a to Phase 6 (Marcos 1988a). As Raymond has noted:

> The large number and ubiquitous distribution of figurines suggests that they were used in rituals which occurred frequently and which commonly were enacted in or around the home. If they were deliberately mutilated during the ritual, it is unlikely that they were

> icons; rather, they seem to have been implements which were utilized during the ceremony and then thrown away.
>
> (Raymond 1993: 38)

There is now general consensus that these figurines represent ritual paraphernalia for shamanic rites, most likely related to curing as well as more routine rites of passage. Moreover, the marked gender asymmetry of the figurines in which female representations clearly predominate provides an important clue as to the nature and content of these rituals and their role in social reproduction.

Following Guillen's (1993) perceptive study of Preclassic figurines from Chalcatzingo in highland Mexico, I would argue that the Valdivia "venus" figurines represent shamanic aids used in female-focused life-crisis ceremonies or curing rites related to menarche, pregnancy, childbirth, and catastrophic illness. Initiation ceremonies associated with menarche would probably be a very common use for such figurines in keeping with Di Capua's (1994) interpretation of figurine use mentioned previously. However, stylistic variability within the general category of "venus" figurines suggests other possibilities as well (e.g. pregnancy). These multiple contexts of use, all related to female life-cycle events, would explain the ubiquity of these items in domestic house floor deposits, where they are typically found in direct association with cooking hearths and food-preparation areas (Kreid 1985; Zeidler 1984). The social and political importance of such life-cycle rituals within the community cannot be overestimated since they would foster the maintenance of formal networks of

> social rights and obligations linking household and household, supra-household group with supra-household group. One such unit acts as host and other units participate as guests; through time each group will play each role vis-à-vis other groups. Such participation and the consequent web of rights and obligations would have been validated by *economic exchanges*.
>
> (Guillen 1993: 218; emphasis added)

Initiation rites and marriage would have been of paramount importance in such exchange relations, but other life-cycle events could also play a role. In Bororo society, for example, Fabian (1992) enumerates several life-cycle events of social significance, some of which may not be archaeologically visible, including birth, name giving, ear piercing, puberty, marriage and parenthood, and death.

As I have noted earlier with respect to the Valdivia "venus" figurines of Phase 3, "they can be regarded as ideological or 'superstructural' artifacts in the process of social reproduction at the household or perhaps supra-household level" (Zeidler 1984: 390). The life-cycle events in which they

played a key role represent repeated ceremonial occasions during which reciprocal as well as unequal economic exchanges took place. As Guillen (1993: 220) observes, "the individual female's social position would have been closely intertwined with all symbols and activities associated with life-cycle ceremonies when important social bonds are established and economic exchanges are initiated." It is possible that some of these ceremonies involved the exchange of nubile females in public marriage rituals orchestrated by village elders (both male and female), as suggested recently by Lesure (1997) in a compelling discussion of Early Formative Mazatán figurines from coastal Chiapas in Mesoamerica. Although the Valdivia figurines do not exhibit the same degree of stylistic variability and iconographic detail as those from Mazatán, the appearance of ritually attired or costumed figurines (perhaps shaman effigies) in Phase 4 contexts may be suggestive of ritual control and economic exchange by and for elders of the community, both male and female.

Sanday (1973, 1974, 1981) has noted that in matrifocal or matrilineal societies having overt female symbolism and where women played a significant role in subsistence production, there is very commonly an "ascribed basis for female power and authority in the secular domain [which can be] . . . found in a ritual orientation to plants, the earth, maternity, and fertility" (Sanday 1981: 120). She provides a concrete case study of a South American society, the Abipon of Paraguay, where such ascribed female power was exhibited in both political and ritual arenas (Sanday 1981: 120–4).[4]

The Valdivia archaeological record suggests that such scripts for female power, "in which creation symbolism and sex-role behavior are joined" (Sanday 1981: 33), formed a guiding principal of gender ideology and gender relations in the ancient Valdivia community. The ubiquitous presence of female figurines in Valdivia material culture attests to "the role of women as highly visible actors in the dynamics of social-hierarchy formation" (Guillen 1993: 216). It also demonstrates how fundamental principles of sex, age (or life status), and kinship (Gailey 1987; La Fontaine 1978) can be manipulated in ritual contexts for purposes of accentuating social identities and ranking, and accumulating material wealth and power.

Conclusions

In this study, I have reviewed two disparate aspects of the Valdivia archaeological record, mortuary patterning and figurine iconography, in an attempt to highlight the dynamic role of women both in the sociopolitical life and in the ritual drama of Valdivia communities. By focusing attention on gender roles and gender ideology within the Valdivia community, we are able to gain new insights into political leadership and emergent social inequality that cannot be gleaned from ethnographic analogies with the Gê-Bororo societies of central Brazil. The high status adult female interment in the threshold of

the Phase 3 Charnel House at Real Alto provides the most direct evidence for a probable political role, if not as an actual leader, then certainly as a highly revered matriarch with considerable political authority. Burial 1 at Capa Perro suggests that by Phase 8, women were actively engaged in ritual performances as shamans and healers, and that ceramic figurines were a critical component of their tool kit. Moreover, the young age of the woman interred at Capa Perro seems to suggest that this role as shaman/healer may have been inherited.

Taken together, these burial contexts raise intriguing questions regarding gender roles and political leadership in Valdivia communities. As Santos Granero (1986: 658) has observed, in many lowland South American societies, the shaman wields considerable social and economic power and often plays a political leadership role, because of his or her intimate involvement in the "mystical means of reproduction – [i.e.] the mystical knowledge and ritual operations which are thought, symbolically and literally, to ensure the well-being and reproduction of both the social group and the natural environment." Was the apical social rank in Valdivia society expressed in the dual role of shaman-leader? Did this role consistently fall to female members of an apical corporate group through hereditary succession or was it negotiated with males in a dialectical tension? Did women attain high status and leadership roles through secular political domains or strictly through ritual domains, as suggested by Pollock (1991) for ancient Sumeria?

While we cannot answer all of these questions with the archaeological evidence amassed thus far, we can be certain that women played a far more prominent role in Valdivia community life than has been acknowledged in previous archaeological literature. In this case, female-focused life-cycle rituals and the supra-household economic exchanges they fostered may have served as important social mechanisms for the accumulation of wealth and the emergence of social inequality over the long course of the Valdivia tradition.

Notes

1 All references to Valdivia ceramic phases are based on the cultural sequence established by Hill (1972–74). The cultural chronology employed herein is based on the BC chronology recently established by Marcos and Michczynski (1996) through comparative study of calibrated radiocarbon determinations and thermoluminescence assays.

2 A similar argument has been made recently for the Moundville site in Alabama based on a convincing ethnographic analogy with historic Chickasaw camp structures (Knight 1998). Such settlement plans can be termed *diagrammatic* in that "they owe their elementary spatial layout to a sort of chart or map of important social distinctions, perhaps grafted to a cosmological plan" (Knight 1998: 45). Crocker (1969, 1985) and Fabian (1992) provide especially compelling and detailed accounts of how the Bororo village functions as both a sociogram and a cosmogram. For a discussion of archaeological expressions of this spatial patterning, see Wüst (1994) and Wüst and Barreto (1999).

3 However, this may not be the case with earlier Bororo groups documented in the ethnohistoric literature. Whether the larger historic Bororo villages documented by Wüst (1994) exhibited greater political complexity than their ethnographic counterparts is not known at present, but is an intriguing question meriting future research.
4 Leacock (1978) documents numerous ethnographic cases of female political leadership in aboriginal North America, while Nelson (1997: 141–8) reviews several archaeological examples from a global perspective.

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10

COMMUNITIES WITHOUT BORDERS

The vertical archipelago and diaspora communities in the southern Andes

Paul S. Goldstein

Introduction

Archaeology, more than any other branch of anthropology, is the prisoner of space. Without access to more ephemeral dimensions in which social interaction occurs, archaeologists rely on space, and specifically the location, style, and disposition of objects in space, to determine the strength and duration of social bonds. When identifying groups in prehistory, archaeologists often rely on provenience, rather than identity, as the definition of community. More often than not, this has reinforced archaeological constructs of community rooted in the age-area hypothesis and impoverished by the equivalence of the term community to a sphere of social interaction between "spatially congruent residential groups" (Preucel, this volume).

Although the papers in this volume pursue a diversity of methodologies across a variety of regions, they share a common goal of expanding on this limited conception of the archaeological community . The common denominator, perhaps, is in a redefinition of the archaeological community as a strong commonality of interests and affiliations – an identity, in short – rather than simply as a place in space. These communities of identity may, and often do, have an expression in neighborhood, village, or regional space. Nonetheless, if we accept that communities may be defined by shared identity, we should be prepared to accept that they are just as likely to crosscut spatial limits as to be bounded by them.

In this chapter, I will argue that the archaeological community may be considered an affiliation based on powerful identities shared among extended, and often non-contiguous populations. For contact-period Andean states, ethnographic and historic evidence suggest a model of community along the lines of the Andean *ayllu*, a social entity that defines

itself by limits other than spatial boundaries. I will suggest that an identity-based community model best explains the "archipelago" of early Tiwanaku state colonies in the south central Andes.

Diaspora communities

In a recent review, James Clifford has described just such an extended community of identity as the diaspora community. Diasporas are:

> expatriate minority communities (1) that are dispersed from an original center to at least two peripheral places; (2) that maintain a memory, vision or myth about their original homeland, (3) that believe they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host country; (4) that see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return, when the time is right; (5) that are committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland and (6) of which the group's consciousness and solidarity are "importantly defined" by this continuing relationship with the homeland.
>
> (Clifford 1994: 304).

This definition represents only the latest evolution of the Greek term meaning "scattering" or "dispersion". For most of its history in English, diaspora referred primarily to the scattered settlement of Jews outside of Palestine following the Babylonian exile. Broader twentieth century usage applied this term to scattered migrations of communities driven by exile or overt oppression (e.g. England 1998; Ledgerwood 1998). More recently, the concept has been expanded to include guest workers, transnational economic migrants, and other historically displaced, though perhaps not exiled, communities (Hall 1990; Mortland 1998), and a broader definition meaning simply "migration" has been added to most dictionaries. Nonetheless, diaspora's salient usage still tends to be limited to transnational communities with strong shared identities, expectation of return, and unwillingness, difficulty, or inability to assimilate in host societies. The definition, as a specific form of identity-based community, exemplifies a general trend in ethnography away from spatial definitions of communities. Following Anderson's dictum that all human community above the level of the household is "imagined" (1991), most recent studies emphasize the historic dynamics of identity formation rather than the propinquity, structure, and location of spatial boundaries, as the hallmark of national, ethnic, or regional community.

This new understanding of the fluid nature of ascriptive groups like ethnic or diaspora communities poses a significant challenge to archaeologists. Community represents the sum of a complex web of relationships such as marriage exchange, kinship or affinal ties, gift exchange, or shared ritual

obligations that unite the individual to a community of interests. To entertain a conception of ethnic communities as bundles of identities in action, archaeologists must recognize that community identities may either coincide or cross-cut with spatial territories. But if even modern day communities escape proximity-based spatial definition, how are ancient communities to be reconstructed from an archaeological record that is, after all, largely spatial in nature?

While this challenge is daunting, two distinct approaches are indicated. First, archaeologists may assume that ancient diaspora communities, like those of present day, often defined themselves in opposition to others. Archaeologically, this fact might be marked by distinctions in practice and activities, and stylistic, as well as spatial, segregation from other communities. Typically, this logic has been applied in urban settings to identify foreign "barrios" (Rattray 1989; Spence 1988) or diasporic enclaves of traders (Stein 1998; Stein *et al.* 1996). A variant on this approach will be discussed in more detail below. Second, where there is a convincing case for cultural continuity, constructive analogies may be built for ancient community from the ethnographic record.

Ayllus as ethnic communities

The Andean ayllu provides an example of an ascriptive identity held together by shared conceptions of behavior, history, and common ancestry. The ayllu, often translated from Quechua as "clan", may be considered more generically as any of several kinds of segmentary social units within Andean societies. Urton defines it broadly as any "group or unit of social, political, economic, and ritual cohesion and action" (1990: 22). Functional definitions emphasize its role as a land holding collective (Rowe 1946), a kin collective (Moseley 1992), or as a "communal mode of production" (Patterson and Gailey 1987) for reciprocal exchange and productive labor organization above the level of the nuclear family. Many ayllus claimed under the Spanish colonial legal system to have articulated territory and land since time immemorial (Albarracin-Jordan 1996a: 186) although the veracity of such claims made amid the chaos of newly imposed European terms of land tenure is debatable (Van Buren 1996).

Structural definitions depict the ayllu as an endogamous corporation that traces ancestry from a real or fictive common ancestor. Ayllus organize and sponsor ritual events, prepare feasts and drinking bouts, and enact ceremonies that map social relationships, reinforce member affiliation, and reify group solidarity. Members of particular ayllus may revere specific sacred places on the land such as mountains, stone outcrops, lakes, and springs, known as *huacas* in Quechua or *mallkus* in Aymara.

Overwhelmingly, however, ayllu membership is seen to be determined by both literal and fictive descent (Abercrombie 1998: 341; Albarracin-Jordan 1996a: 185; Isbell 1997a). In many historic ayllus, the most potent

huacas were those related to real or mythic ancestors. Often, as was the case with the Inca royal ayllus (Bauer 1991) and with ethnographic ayllus (Abercrombie 1998; Allen 1988; Bastien 1978), each recounts its genesis from specific huacas or mallkus that mark ancestral origin places. The importance of sacred places to community identity was well understood even by the Spanish clerics assigned to their dismantling:

> every child who has learned to talk knows the name of the huaca of his clan. For every clan and faction has a principal huaca . . . and members of the clan take the name of the community huaca. Some huacas are thought as the guardians and advocates.
>
> (Arriaga 1968 [1621])

It is interesting to note that even those aspects of ayllu identity that explicitly refer to place refer not to spatial boundaries, but to the huacas that link an ayllu to its ancestors. Indeed, Andean mortuary practices are often interpreted as a means to convert the ancestral dead into just such community huacas. The excessive care afforded ancient Andean interments is typically seen as part of a larger process essential to the formation and maintenance of community identity (e.g. Dillehay 1995). Isbell (1997a) has more explicitly linked the history of ayllus to the development of mortuary monuments with "open sepulcher" burials that permitted an ongoing relationship with ancestral mummies. This association of ancestor worship to group identity suggests that as a community form, the ayllu is more genealogical than territorial in nature – it is bounded by history rather than by borders.

This emphasis on kinship, history, and practice in defining ayllu identity is reminiscent of both Clifford's discussion of diaspora communities, and more broadly, of definitions of ethnic identity as "a kin-based identity larger than the family or lineage" (Emberling 1997: 303). At the most inclusive level, ayllu identity is indeed an "ethnic identity" as defined by Schortman:

> self-ascribed conceptual categories that group together, beyond the level of the immediate household, people who possess a feeling of solidarity founded on shared patterns of behavior motivated by similar assumptions, values, and standards of evaluation which are, themselves, perceived as reflecting a common history of the group.
>
> (Schortman 1989: 54)

Finally, ayllus tend to be segmented into nested hierarchies of other ayllus at different levels of scale. The symmetry and particularly the dualistic structure of this Andean system have led to the generalization of a social structure based on "recursive hierarchy" (Urton 1993). Using the terms maximal,

minor, and minimal to distinguish ayllus of differing scale, Platt (1986) presents the present-day Macha of Potosi, Bolivia, as an example of a nested system of ayllu identities. First, Platt describes the entire Macha group as one maximal ayllu, a term that may be considered synonymous with ethnic group. Below this maximal level of ethnic identity, however, the term ayllu is also used for specific community segments nested within this larger grouping. Among the Macha, for example, the next level of identification is with either of two moiety divisions, known as Alasaya and Maasaya. Finally, individuals identify with a total of ten minor ayllus, five for each moiety, and finally, with minimal ayllus or kin groups. In the case of the Macha, minor ayllus were arrayed like the ten fingers of two hands from one common body. While this elegant symmetry is unusual, similar recursive hierarchies have been noted for the Laymi and K'ulta Aymara (Abercrombie 1998: 154–7; Harris 1986).

Ayllus and the "vertical archipelago"

In a fascinating semantic reversal, one recent discussion of modern-day migration in Latin America chose another word over the traditional term "diaspora" (Elkin 1995: 238). Noting how immigrant twentieth-century Jewish enclaves often were prevented from assimilating by their own customs, institutions and strong sense of identity, the author chose a different Greek word for these "tight little islands isolated within prevailing national currents." That term was "archipelago."

In what follows, I will consider some of the characteristic features of Andean ayllus – non-territoriality, emphasis on kinship-based identity, and recursive hierarchy – in the context of an Andean model for ancient diaspora communities known as the "vertical archipelago." Recently, it has become fashionable to debunk a related, but vaguely defined concept of "verticality" as reductionist, determinist, and overly particular to the Andes. Indeed, the caricature of an essentialized verticality as "a functionalist perspective easily wedded to the ecological concept of adaptation" has become such a popular straw man that it even has been given a name: "Lo Andino" (Van Buren 1996: 340). I argue that the critics have missed the far more interesting structural implication on the extended nature of diasporic communities not only in the Andes, but worldwide. A stricter use of the term "vertical archipelago" permits us to consider expatriate ayllu communities that disperse across geographical space, yet remain tightly knit by shared identity. In short, for the Andean region, I will consider vertical archipelagos as ayllus in diaspora.

In regions where resource variability is defined by sharp gradients in altitude, it indeed appears obvious that access to a variety of altitude-defined ecological zones would be a fundamental goal for human groups. The central role of altitude in the vertical differentiation of high montane human ecosys-

tems has been an active area of comparative research since the 1970s. Alpine Europe and the Himalayas, for example, have been compared as parallel adaptations of agro-pastoral transhumance through the "vertical oscillation of cultivators, herders and beasts" (Rhoades and Thompson 1975: 539, cited in Goldstein and Messerschmidt 1980: 119). Mixed mountain agriculture systems maximized seasonal procurement and served as risk-averaging mechanisms to minimize the effects of catastrophic climatic events in any one zone and provide for self-sufficiency through a variety of complementary resources.

The discussion of the Andean adaptation to altitude-defined resource zonation took on a different cast early on – usually concentrating on resource access via non-market exchange systems rather than seasonal transhumance.[1] On its most basic level, inter-zonal resource exchange among Andean ayllus has been described as "compressed" vertical complementarity. Brush (1977) describes how present-day ayllus of the Uchucmarca Valley of the central Andes send individual households of family members to different resource zones located within a few days' walk of their central settlement. For the same region, John Murra cited the sixteenth-century *visita* by the Spanish bureaucrat Ortiz de Zúñiga, to describe a similar compressed system among ayllus of the Chupaychu and Yacha. These communities routinely dispatched groups as small as a single household, individual couples, or widows from the communities' maize and potato-growing nuclear zone to "resource islands" such as altiplano salt licks and lowland timber, cotton, wheat, and particularly coca-producing areas:

> of the three Indians who are in the coca of Pichomachay, one (is sent) from the town of Pecta and another from Atcor and another from Guacas . . . and these are exchanged if their wives die or when they die they put others in their place.
>
> (Ortiz de Zúñiga [1562] 1967: 44, translated in Murra 1968: 142)

In compressed systems, reciprocal economic relationships were codified in the kinship bonds among community members. As colonial enclaves were small, and seldom more than a few days' walk from the homeland, these removed kinfolk retained membership in their homeland communities despite their physical displacement. Especially if the stationing was temporary, rotating, or involving marginalized members of the community, there was no reason to fear that these enclave households would cease identifying with their home community, or join, or even interact with other communities.

The idea of dispersed community members "away on business" becomes problematic if we extend it to groups that are farther away and not linked on a daily basis with their community of origin. In the seminal articles on

this peculiarly Andean type of diaspora community, Murra described a larger scale version of vertical complementarity in which distant settlements were established by denser and more socially complex core populations than the village ayllus of Uchucmarca. This specific paradigm, constructed to explain the persistence of identifiable altiplano colonists in lowland valleys of the South Central Andes, has become known as the vertical archipelago model.

Murra's formulation of the archipelago model

Murra (1968, 1972, 1985) and others (Flores Ochoa 1972; Fonseca 1972; Pease 1980) document a specific type of vertical control practiced by large pre-Inca polities in the South Central Andes (Murra 1972). According to the model, a highland core population would establish an archipelago of dispersed "islands" of settlements, known to the Inca as *mitmaquna* (colonies), in a variety of ecological and productive zones.

The ethnohistoric prototype for this model is the sixteenth-century kingdom of the Lupaqa, an Aymara-speaking ethnic polity, whose capital and demographic center of Chucuito was located on the western shore of Lake Titicaca, near the by then abandoned Tiwanaku site. Unlike other ethnic groups, who were assigned in *encomiendas* (grants) to individual Spaniards, the Lupaqa enjoyed the unusual status of "royal indians," belonging to the demesne of the Spanish king. Because of this accident of history, the Lupaqa were extensively examined by the royal *visitador* (inspector), Garci Diez de San Miguel in 1567. From their capital of Chucuito, at an elevation of 3,800 m, the Lupaqa controlled an altiplano demographic nucleus with a population of over 100,000. The Lupaqa also established colonies in lowland valleys several days travel from their center, notably in the valleys of Lluta, Sama, and Moquegua, roughly ten days' walk from the Lake Titicaca core area.[2] Most prominent were colonies dispatched to these *yungas* (lowlands) not only to cultivate maize, coca leaf, hot peppers, and cotton, but also to collect sea bird guano fertilizer for exchange with their kin or affines at home. Garci Diez, by interviewing the local lords who interpreted Inca *quipus* (knotted strings used as recording devices), found that the Lupaqa settlers of the lowlands lived in colonies of up to several hundred households.[3,4]

To expand upon this historical sketch, I suggest that Murra's vertical archipelago, seen in the light of what we know about ayllus, bears a strong resemblance to recent formulations of diaspora communities. First, members of an Andean archipelago of colonies, like diaspora communities, are true long-term residents in exile, or in Clifford's terminology "expatriate" communities. This attribute critically distinguishes colonists from traders, missionaries, or other travelers. Second, archipelago colonists carry and maintain an identity with a homeland community that "importantly defines" their consciousness and group solidarity. As Murra described it, despite their

physical relocation, colonists retained their rights, privileges, and obligations as community members of specific core polities. The maintenance of homeland allegiances was so pervasive that it even manifested itself in the phrasing of census reports of colonial visitadores: "Today we inspected . . . in a town called Chinchao, 33 Indians who are coca camayos (cultivators) from all the different factions of the Chupaychus. Of these, twenty had already been inspected in their own native towns" (Ortiz de Zúñiga [1549] 1967: 303–4, quoted in Murra 1972: 431).[5] Thus, despite their physical relocation archipelago colonists, like diasporas, "see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return."

In the above discussion of Andean ayllus, I described how individuals align with minor and minimal ayllus at levels nested within the larger universe of the ethnicity represented by the maximal ayllu. This characteristic tendency of vertical archipelagos to reproduce the recursive social hierarchy of the homeland in diasporas might also be termed structural reproduction (Goldstein 1989a). Typically, as with the modern-day Macha and the historic Lupaqa, a bipartite division of upper and lower moieties was replicated in colonies in other ecological tiers. Lupaqa colonies were each directly aligned with one of the two homeland moieties, Aransaya and Urinsaya, and reported specific allegiance to their respective lords Martin Qari and Martin Kusi (Murra 1968: 126). For the Macha, Platt suggests the reproduction of the entire nested minimal ayllu substructure in colonized regions: "In 1579 we find the Macha defending their right to maintain uchucamayos (hot pepper cultivators) in the warm valleys near Karasi . . . Ten uchucamayos are involved, *one for each of the ten ayllu constituting the Macha*" (Platt 1986: 230, emphasis added). Harris (1986: 264) has noted a similar systematic reproduction of homeland ayllu divisions in colonized areas among the Laymi Aymara, for whom minimal ayllu subdivisions were typically reproduced in outlier settlements.

Finally, what makes the vertical archipelago a unique community formulation is the proposition that colonized regions were multiethnic, and that "island" colonies were not contiguous with their homelands. This type of scattered settlement would be in keeping with the mosaic character of resource zones that characterize the South Central Andes. However, the application of this principle to complex polities would seem to negate one of the underlying tenets of western state theory – that of territorial integrity. In Murra's interpretation, each archipelago of colonial settlement could be spatially interdigitated with archipelagos of other affiliations, under an umbrella of "multiethnic coexistence", much as different ethnic communities coexist in modern immigrant cities.

That such a modus vivendi was incompatible with sixteenth-century western concepts of property and land tenure is indicated by Juan Polo de Ondegardo's surprised reaction to the system's flexibility and the peaceful comings and goings of altiplano cultivators to and from lowland valleys:

"In accounting for and distributing the things they bring, it is curious and difficult to believe, but no one is wronged" ([1571] 1872: 137, translated in Julien 1985: 193).

For the Aymara colonists of Bolivia's yungas valleys of Larecaja, a similar "multiethnic rubbing of shoulders" was described in a 1595 litigation that affirmed joint land ownership by various altiplano as well as local ayllus, including "indios lupacas, yungas, huarinas y achacaches" (Saignes 1986: 316). Similarly, the Lupaqa colonies in the western oasis valleys were discontinuously distributed and interdigitated with less well-documented colonies of other ethnic polities such as the Pacaxe (Murra 1972: 439; Pease 1984: 154) and the Colla (Julien 1985: 194; Stanish 1992: 101; Van Buren 1996).[6]

Murra himself sketched out this criterion as an archaeological hypothesis:

> I wouldn't be surprised if we find in one single valley settlements of diverse antecedents without any temporal stratification between them. These would simply be peripheral colonies established in the lowlands by cores that were contemporary, but diverse in material culture
>
> (Murra 1972: 441)

To consider the case for multiethnicity among prehistoric communities, it is first necessary to consider the archaeological correlates of the vertical archipelago model in some detail.

Archaeological tests for archipelago communities

To test for an archipelago model of diaspora colonization, colonies must answer to four criteria: (1) residence in peripheral regions; (2) maintained identity with a homeland maximal ayllu; (3) structural reproduction of the recursive hierarchy of the homeland in the colonies; and (4) multiethnic coexistence with colonies of other ethnicities.

Expatriate residence of migrant communities must show sufficiently intensive and long-term settlement to distinguish a colonial demographic presence from that of seasonal transhumance or indirect forms of contact such as trade, proselytizing, or elite clientage. As in diasporas, the scale of such settlements should be commensurate with the social and ideological reproduction of the expatriate community – minimally, enclaves of several hundred households.

The maintenance of an ethnic identity among emigrants in a vertical archipelago should be apparent in both style and disposition of a colonial site's entire domestic assemblage. Village planning, architecture, activity areas, cuisine, and either imported or locally made artifacts should reflect the tastes and lifestyles of the homeland community. To the extent that

this community of identity is endogamous, such identity might also be evident in skeletal biology.

If an archipelago model holds, colonies should also structurally reproduce the homeland's moiety and minimal ayllu units. Within colonial communities, these segments may be evident in spatially discernible material distributions, or stylistic behaviors that parallel those of specific social segments in the homeland. These similarities could be evident in micro-variations in costume, utensil use, ceremonial or mortuary practice, or other stylistic practices that leave a mark on material culture. Compared with markers for ethnic identity, however, the diacritics for these subdivisions in material culture may be considerably more subtle archaeologically. Intentional cranial deformation, a stylistic behavior that leaves a permanent and unchangeable record on the human body, may be a particularly telltale marker of a descent-based, yet socially chosen, identity (Blom 1999; Hoshower *et al.* 1995). Skeletal metric or non-metric, dental or molecular biological distance studies of significant human skeletal samples may also offer insight into how the genetic component of archaeological ayllus varied over time and across space (Blom 1999, Blom *et al.* 1998; Lozada Cerna 1998; Sutter 1996).

Finally, the vertical archipelago model requires evidence of contemporary peoples of culturally distinct affiliations living in close proximity – multiethnicity. Enclaves of vertically extended communities in the Andes would function like transparent overlays on a map, sharing regional space without any concept of bounded territories, and coexisting without interacting. Conversely, evidence of a spatially bounded territory containing only homogeneous settlements of a single affiliation (i.e. a single, spatially bounded community) would contradict the multiethnic coexistence intrinsic to the archipelago model. Methodologically, therefore, the consideration of multiethnicity requires a research strategy that addresses regional settlement patterns through systematic survey, as well as within-site household and mortuary studies.

Tiwanaku's core: centralized state or ethnic confederacy?

Tiwanaku, an archaeological culture centered at the site of the same name, dominated the South Central Andes between AD 500 and AD 1000 (Figure 10.1).[7] The Tiwanaku homeland, located at an elevation of 3,800 m in the Bolivian altiplano has long been famed for monumental public architecture, stone sculpture, and distinctive craft objects. Recently, the Tiwanaku site has been reinterpreted to be a vast urban center supported by extensive agricultural works and associated administrative centers throughout the southern Lake Titicaca Basin (Bennett 1934, 1936; Bermann 1994; Browman 1978b, 1980a, 1997; Kolata 1983, 1986, 1993; McAndrews *et al.*

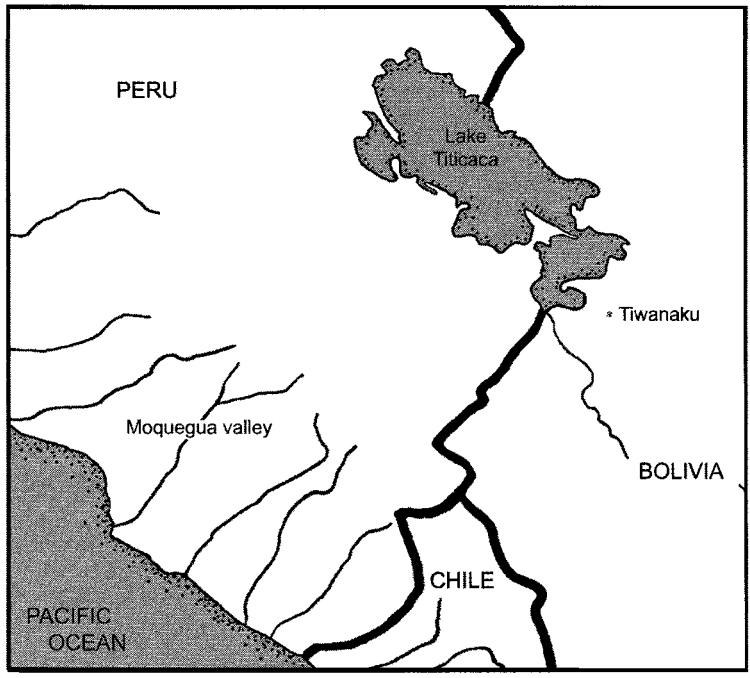

Figure 10.1 Map of the Central Andes and Pacific Coast

1997; Parsons 1968; Ponce Sangines 1969, 1972). Recent fieldwork in the Tiwanaku homeland has engendered considerable debate on the strength and centricity of Tiwanaku political organization. Generally, the discussion tends to polarize around the degree to which Tiwanaku fits the image of a bureaucratic and hierarchical archaic state. Although the various perspectives actually share considerable common ground, the debate does help to focus our understanding of Tiwanaku political and social organization.

Analysts with the most extensive investigations at the Tiwanaku type site tend to emphasize the centripetal nature of the capital city and a strongly centralized Tiwanaku state (Kolata 1986, 1991, 1993; Ponce Sangines 1981). For the most part, Kolata (1982, 1985, 1986, 1995) paints a picture of a highly hierarchical state system that planned massive agricultural investment and oversaw a "quadripartite division of administrative and primary production responsibilities" (Kolata 1986: 760). Nonetheless, Kolata and colleagues also propose that ethnic communities akin to ayllus converged at Tiwanaku, treating it as the most magnetic of huacas: a "shared center of moral and cosmological authority, a place of pilgrimage and wonder" (Kolata 1993: 85; see also 1991, 1992). Kolata

argues that a Tiwanaku hierarchy grew out of a complex multiethnicity in which proto-Aymara herders formed Tiwanaku's elite, incorporating lower status Pukina agriculturalists and liminal Uru aquatic specialists (Kolata 1993: 101). Dualistic readings of Aymara categories of cosmos, landscape, ecology, and social organization are interpreted to explain the architectural division of ritual space between Tiwanaku's Akapana and Puma Punku monuments (Kolata 1993: 98), while spatial variations of ceramic style and household ritual found in domestic excavations within the Tiwanaku urban site have been seen to represent diverse social segments subsumed within the hierarchy of the Tiwanaku polity (Janusek 1994).

Conversely, researchers focusing on smaller sites of Tiwanaku's altiplano homeland have emphasized more segmentary interpretations (e.g. Erickson 1987; Graffam 1992; Isbell 1997b). Although their terminology ranges from a "local perspective" (Bermann 1994) to "integrated nested hierarchies" (Albarracin-Jordan 1996a: 204), these views share an image of the Tiwanaku phenomenon as a loose ethnic confederacy of independent communities, rather than a long-enduring hierarchical state. Even if most sites of the southern Titicaca basin shared cultural and ceremonial ties to the capital, they are seen to have maintained considerable political autonomy. Like Kolata, however, most of these scholars have also drawn analogies to the structural principles of the ayllu as a model for Tiwanaku integration in the Titicaca homeland, except that they emphasize the ayllu's segmentary nature.

Although these reconstructions of Tiwanaku political power differ, there is a consensus that the Tiwanaku-period Titicaca Basin was home to a complex multiethnic society. We can assume that the basin encompassed diverse ethnic communities, and that these were probably also subdivided structurally at several levels. Could the communities of such a heterogeneous Tiwanaku homeland dispatch colonists to lowland regions? And if they did, how would a diaspora colonization growing out of such a diverse community structure look?

The Tiwanaku diaspora

Although characteristic Tiwanaku style artifacts may be found in a far wider region outside of the Titicaca basin, archaeologists have only recently begun to document the nature of Tiwanaku era settlement in neighboring peripheries. Because Murra's ethnohistoric "vertical archipelago" coincides with the western extension of Tiwanaku, it has been hypothesized that the "archipelago" approach to colonization may have originated under Tiwanaku (Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989; Browman 1978b: 332; 1984: 125viii;[8] Lumbreras 1974; Mujica 1996; Mujica *et al.* 1983; Murra 1972). I will concentrate here on the Tiwanaku occupation of the Moquegua Valley of Southern Peru (Figure 10.2), an oasis valley located approximately 300 km

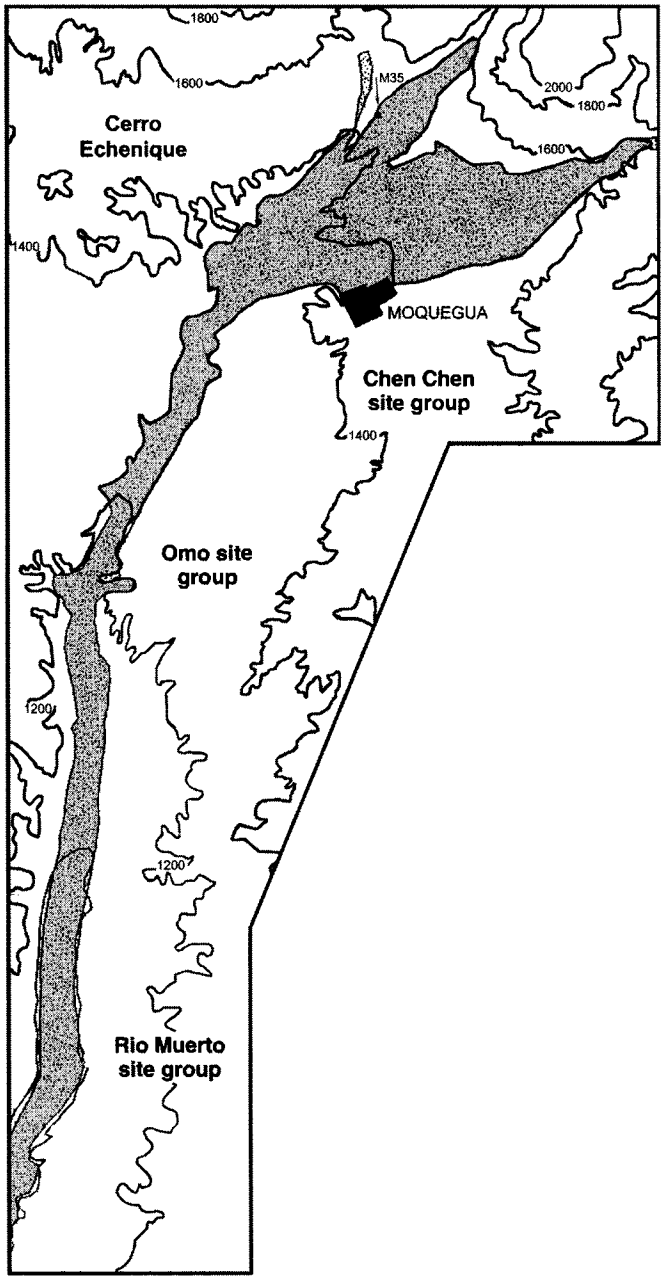

Figure 10.2 Topographic map of the Moquegua valley

from the Tiwanaku site. The Tiwanaku occupation of this region has been studied via an extensive program of excavation projects at the Omo (1986, 1987, 1990, 1999), Chen Chen (1995) and Rio Muerto (1998) sites and through a systematic regional survey of the Moquegua Archaeological Survey (1993–95) (Goldstein 1989b, 1993a, 1993b, 1994, n.d.). What follows summarizes how research results compare with our criteria for the diaspora community defined as the "vertical archipelago."

Tiwanaku residence

Tiwanaku colonists first took up residence in the middle Moquegua (also known as Osmore) valley beginning in approximately AD 600. Systematic full coverage survey has revealed an aggregate occupation of over 126 ha by Tiwanaku sites. While the chronology of Tiwanaku colonization awaits radiocarbon confirmation, our current reconstruction suggests an initial colonization at fifteen site components covering 28.7 ha during the Omo phase. In the subsequent Chen Chen phase, population increased dramatically, to some 54.6 ha. A total of thirty-nine spatially distinct cemetery components, covering a total of 10.4 ha, further attests to the permanence and large scale of the resident Tiwanaku occupation in Moquegua.

Tiwanaku settlement expanded concurrent with massive agricultural intensification that probably emphasized maize cultivation. Maize, the only cultigen from which *chicha* (maize beer) could be brewed, was a key component of Tiwanaku's ritual political economy yet cannot grow in the altiplano Tiwanaku homeland. The extraordinary importance of maize beer to the Tiwanaku florescence is demonstrated by the sudden introduction and rapid diffusion of the *kero* – the drinking goblet form – contemporaneous with the era of Tiwanaku expansion at home and abroad. In Moquegua, Tiwanaku settlers built vast canal-fed field systems near the Chen Chen site (Williams 1997) and connected fields and the new settlements to the altiplano homeland by a complex network of caravan trails, whose routes were marked with geoglyphs. Simultaneously, in the Chen Chen phase, Moquegua Tiwanaku sites begin to exhibit new infrastructure suggestive of agricultural production beyond household requirements (Bandy *et al.* 1996; Goldstein 1989b, 1995). Supra-household production is supported by a marked increase in tools and installations dedicated to maize processing. Extremely large rocker metates and the highest densities of manos and chipped stone hoes were associated with clusters of stone-lined storage cists, suggesting specialized processing areas to facilitate the export of maize to the altiplano. At Chen Chen, these storage and processing areas were found throughout the domestic area, suggesting a total site-wide storage capacity of 5,000 to 7,000 cu. m (Bandy *et al.* 1996).

Elsewhere, I have posited that this emphasis on maize processing represents a transformation from a colonial to a provincial system (Goldstein

1993a), meaning the inception of an economic regime based on systemic extraction of this ritually important crop as agricultural tribute. The extractive system was supported by public architecture with the construction of a sunken court temple at Omo M10, suggesting Moquegua's incorporation as a political unit on a par with the "secondary centers" of Tiwanaku's immediate agricultural hinterland (Kolata 1986). However, just as for the altiplano heartland, a convincing argument may be made that colonial Tiwanaku retained an ayllu-based social structure, and that provincial identity remained rooted in kinship, daily practice, and ritual, rather than territorial allegiances.

Tiwanaku diaspora identity

Extensive intra-site studies indicate the maintenance of a powerful Tiwanaku identity in Moquegua's transplanted agricultural communities. Excavations of domestic contexts at Omo, Chen Chen, and Rio Muerto found architectural siting, plan, and construction techniques to represent an introduction of foreign Tiwanaku archetypes to this lowland valley. Domestic buildings of the Tiwanaku colonies consisted of organic materials, utilizing either a tent-like skeletal structure of thin posts or *quincha* structures with wattle and daub walls built of river cane. The Tiwanaku colonial house plan consisted of two to eight contiguous rectangular rooms usually arranged linearly. Although the use of organic materials represents a departure from altiplano construction techniques, the multi-roomed Tiwanaku compounds suggest households with a very different family structure than that of local pre-Tiwanaku domestic patterns.

Artifact assemblages and features in household contexts also suggest productive, consumptive, and ritual activities that marked the inhabitants as expatriate communities affiliated with a Tiwanaku ethnic or maximal ayllu identity. Tiwanaku households in Moquegua demonstrate an exclusively Tiwanaku inventory of stone and bone tool types, textiles, and utilitarian domestic pottery, as well as decorated red-slipped and reduced-black serving wares (Figure 10.3). Preliminary mineralogical analysis (Barnett 1991) suggests it is unlikely that most of this material was physically imported from the altiplano. Nonetheless, the ceramic assemblages of these sites were clearly made by Tiwanaku-trained crafts people for the tastes and demands of ethnically Tiwanaku communities.

Conversely, there is no continuity from local pre-Tiwanaku traditions in the colonial communities. No local pottery styles or forms were discerned within the Tiwanaku settlements, and sites of the region's pre-Tiwanaku tradition, known as Huaracane, are radically different in agricultural practice, macro botanical remains, and pottery, lithic, and textile utensils (Goldstein n.d.). Carbon nitrogen isotope analysis on human skeletons from both populations supports the dietary distinction of the two communities,

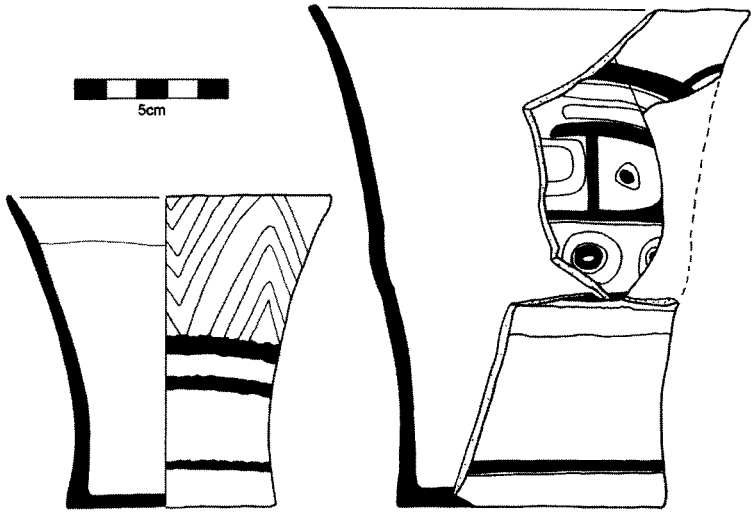

Figure 10.3 Decorated, red-slipped serving ware

with a shift to high levels of maize consumption and a near-disappearance of maritime foods marking Tiwanaku cuisine (Sandness 1992). Tiwanaku colonists' insistence on their own cuisine relates to Clifford's definition of diaspora as "a consciousness importantly defined by a continuing relationship with the homeland." When Tiwanaku colonists arrived, they brought with them their own norms of food and drink, most notably a predilection for maize, the single cultigen that most defined their roles as both tributaries to, and participants in the Tiwanaku phenomenon.

Recursive hierarchy in the Tiwanaku colonies

Tiwanaku colonies might be expected to display intricate nested social hierarchies if they were structured on the principles of ethnographically recorded ayllus. Such a segmentation is most evident in the spatial segregation within and among Tiwanaku colonial settlements. Each of the largest colonial enclaves in Moquegua – Omo, Chen Chen, and Rio Muerto – have been considered as site-groups, rather than simply sites since they are divided by natural features. Although the domestic architecture was consistent among all of these divisions or community groups, these within-site housing clusters offer evidence of the intentional formation of sub-communities within the Tiwanaku colony.

At least some of the Tiwanaku colonial sites, perhaps corresponding to minimal ayllu divisions, are marked as plaza-centered neighborhoods. Fortunate conditions of preservation at two sites of the Omo group – M12 and

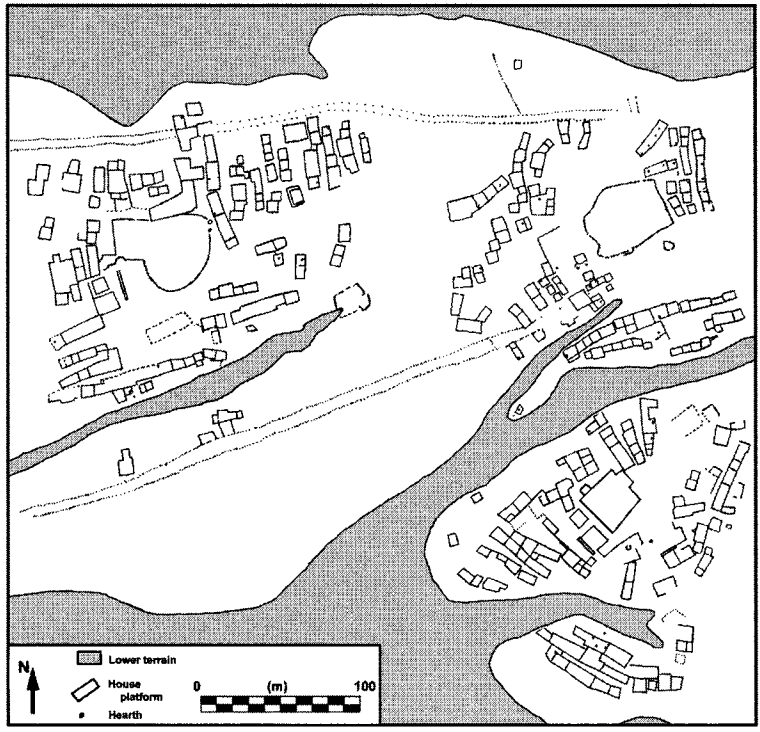

Figure 10.4 Map of Omo M12

M16 – have permitted detailed surface mapping of exposed plazas and house platforms and have offered a unique opportunity for comparisons of village plans, using both large area excavations and systematic surface collection.

At the 16.25 ha Omo M12 site, a total of 133 domestic units, consisting of 369 rooms were distributed among three clearly distinguishable community groups, designated as the west, north, and south communities (Figure 10.4). The three clusters were separated by geographical features or by empty areas of "no-man's-land" that must have demarcated social boundaries. In each cluster, domestic structures were arrayed around cleared central plaza areas that must have been the public foci of each community. Specialized facilities such as large storage jars and sets of elaborate serving vessels found in a few houses suggest that they doubled as *chicherias* – sites for brewing and ritual consumption of maize beer – and that certain households may have sponsored ritual drinking under a cargo-like system of rotating community leadership (Goldstein 1993b). Analogy with historic and contemporary Aymara communities (e.g. Abercrombie 1998) suggests that the hosting of such activities was critical to the structuring of social

and political relations in an ayllu community. Allegiance to specific minor ayllus, lineages, or moieties within the Tiwanaku whole may have been articulated through similar identity-affirming ceremonial practice.

In terms of ceramic variability, both artifact density and the prevalence of fine serving pottery varied among sites and community clusters. Such divisions may have related to status distinctions among colonies of different ayllus (Goldstein 1993b). Within Omo M12, the south community enjoyed the highest ceramic density and the best access to the most elaborate ceramic types, particularly sets of zoomorphic and portrait vessels. The distribution of many of these corresponds to particular household units, and the vessel sets may have been emblematic feasting ware for particular minor or minimal ayllus, as well as markers of household status. In contrast, the Omo M16 site has the worst location of all the Moquegua Tiwanaku sites, deep in the high desert, farthest away from the irrigable valley and springs. Although the arrangement of domestic structures in plaza-centered groups at M16 was similar to that of M12 (Figure 10.5), M16 seems a poorer site, with far lower ceramic density and a much smaller proportion of fine wares. This distinction may represent the settlement of a less powerful, or perhaps last-to-arrive ayllu within the Tiwanaku colony.

Beyond status-related differentiation, micro-variability in the ceramic assemblages permits subdivision of the entire Tiwanaku maximal ayllu into smaller communities at the level of minor ayllus. Two areas seem particularly promising. First, the differential distribution of reduction fired or smudged blackware Tiwanaku serving vessels, although believed to have a chronological component, associates the substyle with sites of the western valleys and the Copacabana region of the Titicaca lakeshore, while blackware is relatively rare at the Tiwanaku site (Janusek 1994) and in the Tiwanaku valley (Albarracin-Jordan 1996b). The limited distribution of this blackware horizon suggests a technological style that was only popular among some ayllus within the larger Tiwanaku sphere.

A second area of enormous potential for minor ayllu definition is the presence of post-firing engraved symbols on Tiwanaku serving vessels. Engraved "X" and "Y"-shaped (bird talon) symbols found on many fine ceramic vessels recovered at M12 are identical to engravings present on vessels found in Cochabamba, Copacabana, Arica, and San Pedro, as well as Tiwanaku itself (Goldstein 1989b; Ryden 1947). These symbols cannot be simply classified as makers' marks, as their post-firing engraving may associate them more closely with distribution and use than production. Although the marks may be notational symbols of central state approval or regulation of exchange, the prevalence of two main symbol sets suggests the possibility of totemic symbols associated with moieties or minor ayllus that crosscut the Tiwanaku sphere.

Unfortunately, while we can be reasonably sure that minor ayllu communities of identity existed within Tiwanaku sites, there is not yet an easy

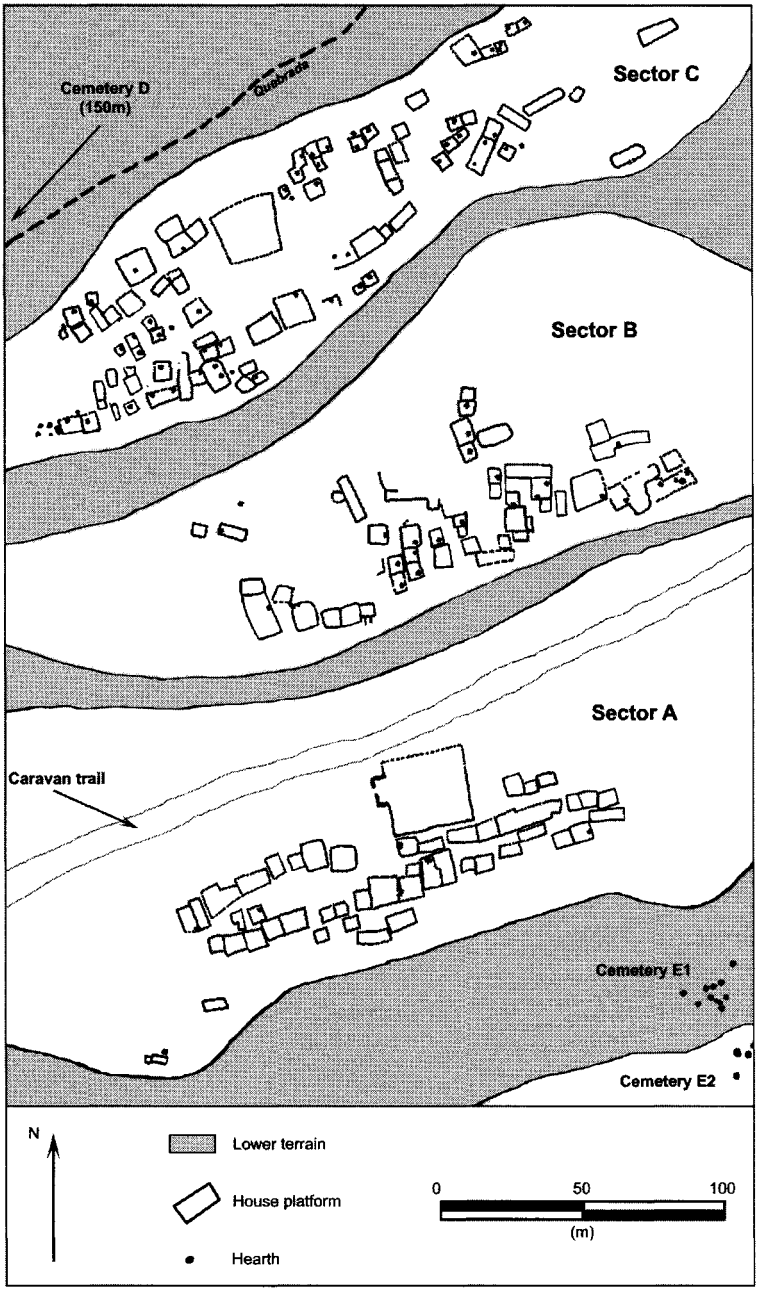

Figure 10.5 Map of Omo Alto M16

way to label these in archaeological context. Ceramic distributions are complex, entailing regional and chronological, as well as social, components. Only statistical analysis of large, well-provenienced samples can help us determine patterns.

Multiethnicity

According to the criteria outlined above, colonization alone does not indicate a "vertical archipelago." Testing for valley-wide multiethnicity requires settlement pattern data confirming that Tiwanaku shared peripheral resource zones like the Moquegua valley with contemporary indigenous populations or enclaves of other foreign communities.

Considering the aggregate 83.7 ha of habitation area for the Omo and Chen Chen Tiwanaku occupations, we find that most of the Tiwanaku habitation was clustered at the massive site groups of Omo, Chen Chen, and Rio Muerto (see Table 10.1). Tiwanaku cemeteries also were concentrated within the three largest site groups, including the eighteen massive necropolises of the Chen Chen site (Blom 1999; Owen 1997; Vargas 1988) and the fifteen somewhat smaller Tiwanaku cemeteries at Omo (Goldstein 1989a; Goldstein and Bermann 1992) and Rio Muerto (Goldstein 1998).

Surprisingly few Tiwanaku hamlets or farmsteads were found outside of the major centers, suggesting that Tiwanaku colonists had relatively little presence in intervening parts of the valley. It seems unlikely that this pattern

Table 10.1 Omo and Chen Chen Tiwanaku sites of the Mid Moquegua Valley

Site	*Number of Tiwanaku habitation sectors*	*Total habitation area (ha)*	*Number of Tiwanaku cemetery sectors*	*Total cemetery area (ha)*	*Total area (ha)*
Omo site group	9*	28.7	15**	0.5	29.3
Chen Chen site group	9	23.4	18	6.0	29.4***
Rio Muerto site group	8	9.4	8	3.6	13.0
Cerro Echenique site group	4	5.9	0	0	5.9
All other Omo and Chen Chen Phase Tiwanaku sites	34	16.2	3	0.1	22.2
Total	64	83.7	44	10.2	93.8

Notes:

* Total does not include M11, a 6 ha Tiwanaku-Tumilaca habitation sector.

** Total does not include two Tiwanaku Tumilaca cemeteries and three non-Tiwanaku cemeteries at Omo (Goldstein n.d.). Total does include the M16D cemetery discovered at Omo in 1998.

*** Chen Chen was mapped collaboratively in the course of the 1995 rescue project directed by Antonio Oquiche. Habitation areas were mapped by Goldstein and the MAS team, while cemeteries were mapped by Bruce Owen and P. Ryan Williams.

represents a Tiwanaku preference for urban living in remote places and distant deserts. More likely, Tiwanaku colonial communities had to work out a modus vivendi with peoples of radically distinct cultural traditions who already occupied a strip of settlements along the very limited valley-bottom. Tiwanaku's peculiarly isolated settlement pattern may have defined a niche that was separated from that of indigenous peoples of the valley, who remained largely unaffected by the heightened Tiwanaku presence.

Determining whether Tiwanaku colonies constitute an "archipelago" community requires a better understanding of these contemporary non-Tiwanaku indigenous settlements and other colonial "diaspora" in the middle Osmore. Settlement pattern archaeologists like to see the world as chronologically separate patterns of settlement, identifiable by distinct material cultures that do not overlap temporally. Some sites of the largely pre-Tiwanaku Huaracane tradition, and of post-Tiwanaku Tumilaca and Chiribaya affiliation may overlap with Tiwanaku occupation, and survey results in Moquegua suggest that the Tiwanaku colonies may also have coexisted for a time with small enclaves of the culturally distinct Wari polity, who for the most part restricted their residence to the Upper Osmore Valley, at and around Cerro Baul (Owen 1994; Williams 1997). Despite the proximity of sites of all of these traditions within the same valley, however, ceramic exchange was virtually nil, making cross-dating extremely difficult. Only better understanding of basic chronology through excavation and dating will tell.

Conclusions

Critics of John Murra's vertical archipelago model have concentrated on its least interesting functionalist aspects and ignored the far more important structural implications for colonial diasporas within spatially extended ayllu-based societies. At best, the vertical archipelago is seen as a peculiarly Andean model, an aberration particular to the montane geography and isolation of this culture area. At worst, Murra has been accused of essentializing a self-evident ecological complementarity into an eternal cultural "tradition" particular to the Andes. Nonetheless, the foregoing discussion suggests that the archipelago construct can be a valuable structural model that may be tested with problem-oriented archaeological data.

In the case of Tiwanaku expansion, we now know that the settlements established in lowland oasis valleys like Moquegua were resident migrant communities, and that they maintained a strong identity with the Tiwanaku homeland that was evident in every aspect of the practice of daily life. We know that ayllu-like social divisions profoundly segmented Tiwanaku's colonies, and we can speculate that these component segments must correspond with nested minor ayllu communities represented throughout the Tiwanaku cultural sphere. It is possible that colonized regions could be

multiethnic because the Tiwanaku polity was integrated in very different ways than other archaic states, and did not demand total territorial domination even in annexed peripheries. It is almost a certainty that colonial communities of the Tiwanaku diaspora shared peripheral valley systems with one another, with indigenous peoples and with colonists of other ethnic groups.

For the great colonial exodus of altiplano Tiwanaku peoples, the "archipelago" model remains a viable formulation for non-territorial communities that united people across great distance. If we are to understand archaeological communities in exile, it is important to consider the convergence of the historic term "diaspora" and Murra's "archipelago." Even across centuries, this convergence reminds us that we may be looking at similar social phenomena, albeit on vastly different scales.

Notes

1 While the literature on Andean vertical complementarity includes discussions of community transhumance for both ancient and modern populations (e.g. Browman 1978b; Dillehay and Lautaro Nuñez 1988; Flannery *et al.* 1989), these tend to concentrate on pastoralists, rather than agrarian communities.

2 Chucuito was between 150 and 250 km away from the middle Moquegua valley, roughly 100 km closer than the Tiwanaku site. Travel time would have been considerably higher for burdened camelid caravans (Murra 1968: 143).

3 Lupaqa colonies were considerably larger than the four to sixteen households reported for the Chupaychu and Yacha ("podían llegar a centenares de 'casas' – mucha más gente que los asentamientos periféricos de Huánuco") (Murra 1972: 443).

4 Some interpretations of archaeological research find no convincing evidence of pre-Inca Lupaqa colonies in Moquegua and suggest that the Late Intermediate Period scenario Murra described for the Lupaqa may in fact be an artifact of Inca manipulation, early colonial resettlement, and the systematic bias of colonial informants (Stanish 1992; Van Buren 1996). However, these scholars do accept the existence of Colla Aymara colonies and note strong similarities of the material culture at other Late Intermediate Period sites in the same region to altiplano antecedents (Van Buren 1996: 344).

As a theoretical construct, the "archipelago" model does not depend on the veracity of Murra's specific Lupaqa case. Even clear negative findings for the Lupaqa case would not invalidate the model's theoretical usefulness. Indeed, if the model does not apply in certain historic circumstances, the fact that archaeologists *can* falsify and reject the model confirms the model's utility.

5 "Este mismo día visitamos . . . en un pueblo que se llama Chinchao 33 yndios que son coca camayos de todas las parcialidades de los chupachos los cuales veinte de estos están ya visitados en sus mismos pueblos donde son naturales."

6 While a reading of Garci Diez alone suggests that the Lupaqa had the "most profound influence in the area" (Stanish 1992: 101–2), we might assume that Pacajes and Colla colonies, although unreported, were probably equal in number and influence.

7 This date refers to the period of most intensive cultural unification of the Titicaca Basin under the Tiwanaku style. Occupation in Tiwanaku and surrounding sites is datable to considerably earlier.

8 Elsewhere, Browman has emphasized the relatively low cost of hegemonic integration in his "altiplano model." According to this interpretation, Tiwanaku's broadest sphere of influence was a crafts exchange network maintained by markets, caravan trade, and religious proselytizing (Browman 1980b: 108–9; 1985: 63).

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11

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF "APPALACHIAN" IDENTITY

Community-based archaeology in the Blue Ridge Mountains

Audrey J. Horning

> We may not know quite what community means but we are certain that our ancestors had it and that we do not.
> (Mann 1987: 2)

Introduction

> Here, hidden in deep mountain pockets, dwell families of unlettered folk, of almost pure Anglo-Saxon stock, sheltered in tiny, mud-plastered log cabins and supported by a primitive agriculture. One of these settlements ... has no community government, no organized religion, little social organization wider than that of the family and clan, and only traces of organized industry ... the community is almost completely cut off from the current of American life. It is not of the twentieth century.
> (Sherman and Henry 1933: 1–2)

So penned sociologist Mandel Sherman and journalist Thomas Henry in their 1933 work *Hollow Folk*, which purported to describe the degraded state of several mountain settlements in the Virginia Blue Ridge, settlements which lay in the path of Shenandoah National Park. The isolated Blue Ridge hollows presented the perfect case study for examining "the relationship of education to mentality, for personality studies, and for testing the theories of the Behaviorists," as extolled by Fay Cooper-Cole in the introduction to the volume, described as containing "a wealth of material for science and laymen who are interested in the growth and decline of human culture" (Cooper-Cole in Sherman and Henry 1933: v). The Blue

Ridge hollows were settled by Euro-Americans during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and, through their apparent physical isolation, had developed and subsequently devolved "without contact with law or government" (Sherman and Henry 1933: 214). Here, then, were perfectly bounded communities where social and cultural processes could be analyzed without the taint of contamination by the "outside world," appealing as much to present-day archaeologists anxious to examine the material correlates of an American folk community as to a 1930s sociologist testing his theories regarding cultural development.

Three of the five hollow communities analyzed by Sherman and Henry on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge in Madison County, Virginia, were surveyed and eighty-eight archaeological sites recorded in a project sponsored by the National Park Service. Materials recovered from the surface of the abandoned homesites in Nicholson, Corbin, and Weakley Hollows belie romantic notions about the arrested development of their inhabitants, clearly contradicting the claim of amateur sociologist Miriam Sizer that residents were "living in a medieval age" (Sizer 1932).[1] In contrast to *Hollow Folk*'s portrayal of the Blue Ridge communities as wholly isolated and bounded entities, individuals in the hollows were in fact found to maintain complimentary as well as competing allegiances to a variety of community identities, generally geographically based but further refined in the realm of economics, environment, and ideology. As an exercise in historical archaeology, this study employed a variety of disparate sources to examine the nature of past communities, revealing communities to be ever-changing, overlapping, and complex entities created more through discourse than by physical location, defined externally but replicated internally, alternately expanding and contracting through time and space (Figure 11.1).

Communities are as much mental phenomena as physical entities. Although the hollows were divested of their human population when Shenandoah National Park was established, the communities themselves exist most strongly today, in the minds of descendants of the displaced and in the perceptions of modern park visitors. The very establishment of the national park imposed the boundaries and the physical isolation that did not exist when the hollows were plowed, planted, and awash with the daily activities of a thriving historic population, creating both a unity amongst the displaced and a bounded, if now unpopulated, "homeland." The images of backwoods isolation presented in *Hollow Folk*, echoing a long-tradition of literature on the "otherness" of the Appalachian South, have been perpetuated and legitimated by the present wilderness landscape of Shenandoah National Park, providing visual confirmation of the isolation of the "lost" mountain folk culture. In fact, our understandings of past communities are constantly changing based upon fluctuations in the present-day identity system, just as definitions of those communities expanded and contracted

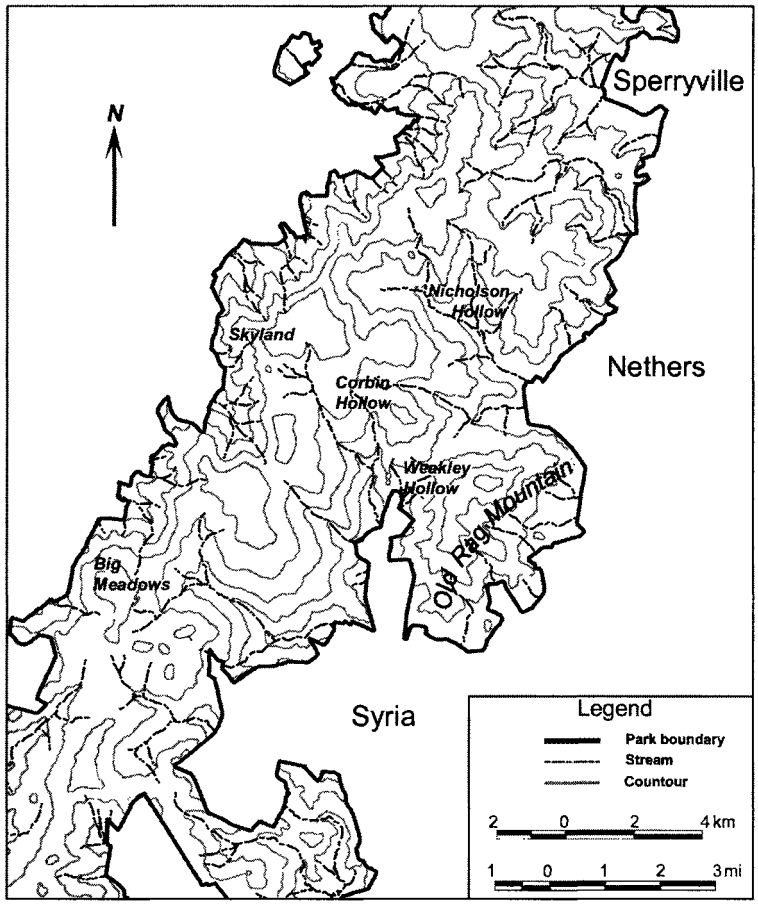

Figure 11.1 Old Rag Vicinity, Shenandoah National Park (map courtesy of Shenandoah National Park Information Management)

in the past through the interplay of external and internal forces, predicating a continual process of negotiation amongst community members.

Historical archaeology and community studies

With the rise of the so-called "new social history" in the 1960s, historians began focusing their attention on the development, maintenance, and posited devolution of pre-Revolutionary communities (declension theory after Miller 1939; pioneering community studies include Demos 1970; Greven 1970; Lockridge 1970; Powell 1963), building on a genre with its roots in Boasian anthropology. Attention was focused upon early New

England settlements; indeed, according to one critical history, "community has meant the town, preferably the New England town" (Mann 1987: 2). In these studies, communities were invariably presented as spatially bounded entities. The coeval development of historical archaeology ensured that community-level analyses would always be an accepted and integral part of the discipline. Despite the ready marriage of the documentary record with the archaeological, most historical archaeologists tackling the notion of community have shied away from a critical analysis of the community concept. Communities are presented either uncritically or narrowly defined in space and time.

In assessing a series of documentary case studies, historian Darret Rutman concluded that communities were

> small, intimate, and essentially cooperative. Life was, moreover, lived slowly and in tune to its own cycles and the seasons of the year. There was none of the contemporary hustle and bustle . . . the great events of the times actually crept upon the towns and counties unawares . . . and in the end effected minimal immediate change in the lifestyle.
>
> (Rutman 1986: 167)

Rutman's essentialist interpretation relies solely upon written sources, since the material record from even the earliest colonial American sites reflects not only timely, if selective, adoption of European fashions, but also an uninterrupted awareness of the rapid changes affecting European cultures throughout the colonial period (for one of many discussions, see Deagan 1991). Rutman's view over-simplifies the complexity of the past, the myriad choices faced and made by individuals, kin groups, and communities. His interpretation reflects the common tendency to impose a permanent state of bewilderment upon historical actors because of the modern need to romanticize a lost idyllic past from a position of present superiority fostered by a Whitean view of cultural progress. Matthew Johnson's (1993: 351) observation of the impact of England's sixteenth-century enclosure movement on local communities should serve as a universally apt caution: "Ordinary people were well aware of many of the changes going on around them, often at a discursive as well as practical level of consciousness. Ironically, they often seem more aware than modern historians."

All disciplines define communities according to the sources at their command. Typically, documentary historians begin at the family level, much as archaeologists begin with the site, and then proceed to examine household and regional linkages via marriage and kinship over a geographical area as revealed through personal papers and court, church, census and financial records. For the archaeologist, these issues are approached through recognizable patterns of trade, settlement, architecture, and environmental

alteration. Historical archaeologists not only have the documentary and archaeological records at their disposal for examining past communities, but they often have the opportunity to incorporate folklore, ethnography, and the arts. The dialogue between these disparate sources of evidence in historical archaeology produces "a dynamic of mutual constraint as an essential, inescapable feature of the discipline" (Wylie 1993). This interplay of sources not only allows for a contextual, holistic approach, but also serves as a check on single-source interpretations. Historical archaeology has long possessed the power to serve as a testing ground for archaeological theories, although this power has largely gone unrecognized by the archaeological "community" as a whole. Critical analysis of material, documentary, interpretive (park and sociological), folk traditional, media, and oral historical sources from Nicholson, Corbin, and Weakley Hollows permits the evaluation not only of community life in the Blue Ridge from the eighteenth into the twentieth century, but of the very nature of community itself and its material reflections.

Hollows study

Close to five hundred families were compelled to abandon their homes, farms and businesses to make way for the nearly 200,000 acre Shenandoah National Park. Pieced together through the purchase or condemnation of over three thousand individual land tracts by the Commonwealth of Virginia, the new national park was the first to be within a day's journey for 40 million Americans. Visitors remain readily attracted by the safe wilderness experience promised by a drive along the 105-mile Skyline Drive which gracefully wends its way along the top of the Blue Ridge (Engle 1997, 1998; McClelland 1998; Naylor 1934; Simmons 1978).[2] The 1936 dedication of the park marked the culmination of more than a decade's worth of political maneuvering, public relations ploys, and fund raising efforts, laced with episodes of influence peddling and marred by an utter lack of direction as to the "problem" of the park inhabitants. Not until 1934 was it officially decreed that residents would have to leave (Engle 1997, 1998). While most left dutifully if not willingly, forced evictions did take place. Following the removals, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was sent in to create a "natural" park, charged with dismantling homes and eradicating traces of human occupation.

Commonly held assumptions about the poverty and isolation of the region, legitimized at the time by studies such as *Hollow Folk*, served to justify these displacements as a positive measure toward civilizing the mountaineer. According to one economist, inhabitants had "existed too long in this stage of mountain isolation willing to eek (sic) a scanty and precarious living from the mountain farms and home-land . . . these people will be moved to more civilized regions of agriculture and industry" (McLendon

1930: 55–6), ignoring evidence for considerable economic and social diversity within the park boundaries. While all studies of the Blue Ridge relied to some extent upon the fulsome literature on the southern uplands, Sherman and Henry's description in particular employed a host of worn-out Appalachian stereotypes – isolation, poverty, pure Elizabethan speech, primitive agriculture, independence, and Anglo-Saxon or Scotch-Irish ethnicity (e.g. Fox 1901; Frost 1899; see Shapiro 1966, 1978; and Batteau 1990 for discussions of the nineteenth-century construction of "Appalachia"). Their study set the tone for the ensuing removals and for decades of park interpretation until the early 1990s. Following the agitation of a descendants' organization known as the Children of Shenandoah, all interpretive displays regarding the park's human past were removed. In the words of the park's current chief of interpretation, "even the best intentioned attempts to present a balanced view of the former park residents promoted generalizations which sustained the demeaning image" (Michaud 1998: 11). Although contradicted by the archaeological and documentary records (see Horning 1996, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, forthcoming; Perdue and Martin-Perdue 1976, 1979–80, 1991), the lasting power of the Appalachian cultural myth, given legitimacy by the 1930s academic world, has both obscured and fostered multivariate community identities through its construction of a historical past.

In 1995, the National Park Service began the Survey of Rural Mountain Settlement. Carried out via a cooperative agreement with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the project was designed to initiate the process of inventorying and assessing cultural resources throughout the park.[3] Nicholson, Corbin and Weakley Hollows were chosen for the study both because of their "starring" role in *Hollow Folk* and because not all of their historic structures had been destroyed by the Civilian Conservation Corps. In an apparent nod to the park's human history, a selection of log buildings in Nicholson Hollow were spared from the torch and allowed to decay "naturally" (Steere 1936). Traces of these structures have survived to be recorded, although they are in desperate need of stabilization (Figure 11.2).

Data gathered from surface sampling in all three hollows provide a concrete refutation of contentions that residents lived in a "primeval stage of the American backwoods" (McLendon 1930: 55–6). The universal presence of an array of kitchen and dining wares, pharmaceutical items, military items, mail-order toys, 78 rpm record fragments, specialized agricultural tools, store-bought shoes, and even automobiles, suggests that mountain residents were as equally bombarded by mass consumer culture as were other early twentieth-century Americans, and that they participated in that consumer culture on their own terms. The fact that small farmers in the Blue Ridge continually interacted with the "outside" world through their active participation in the market economy does not belie their distinct cultural identity, which may well have reflected other regional southern

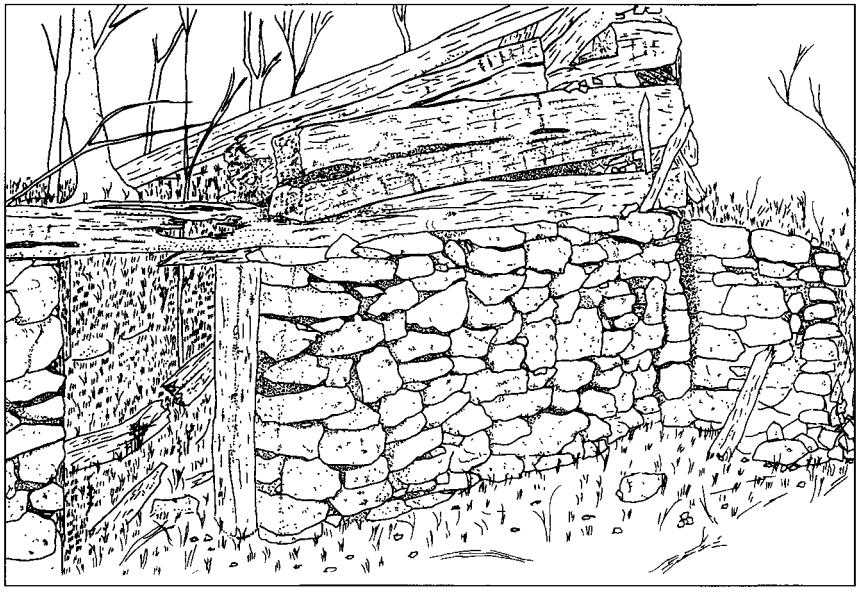

Figure 11.2 Remains of a log dwelling in Nicholson Hollow (illustration by the author)

upland identities. Assessing the nature of their participation provides an understanding of the decisions made by the mountain people in incorporating and rejecting individual aspects of the national culture – choices tempered and shaped, but not wholly determined, by the physical environment (Horning 1999a, forthcoming).

The three hollows, located adjacent to one another in the shadow of Old Rag Mountain in Madison County, were settled by a complex mixture of Euro-Americans in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Horning 1999b). Settlement in each hollow developed individually in response to environmental and related economic factors, while individuals maintained kinship and community ties which transcended these geographically imposed boundaries. Diachronic shifts in the economic and social life of the hollows can be tracked not only through the documents and the remembrances of former residents, but also through changes in settlement patterning and landscape use. Discernible material variations between the hollows speak to the historic existence of individual community identities, while the written record documents intra-hollow ties and regional interaction. The arts and folklore of the Shenandoah National Park region reflect cultural links throughout the southern mountain region, often predicated upon a sage awareness of the twentieth-century craft market. Finally, the oral historical record[4] reflects historic perceptions of identity in the

hollows; but, more particularly, it reflects the creation of an overarching mountain community identity rooted firmly in the upheavals of the 1930s and given conscious voice through the creation of the Children of Shenandoah organization.[5]

In the ensuing discussion, each hollow is first considered as a geographically and economically bounded entity, and then as part of a larger local community. The ever-fluctuating nature of community identity is examined in light of specific reflections in the archaeological, documentary, and ethnohistorical records, with emphasis upon the role of identity negotiation. Finally, the often blurred relationship between internally defined and externally imposed community identities is considered in reference to mountain residents co-opting negative and stereotypical images of themselves towards positive community reification.

Weakley Hollow as a village community

Weakley Hollow is in reality a valley separating the geologically distinct Old Rag Mountain from the Blue Ridge. Homes were situated along a public road, constructed during the eighteenth century, which linked villages at either end and led to the 1778 Ragged Mountain Baptist church.[6] Residents capitalized upon their ready access to transportation by establishing services such as smithies, sawmills, gristmills and distilleries, still discernible on the landscape. In the early twentieth century, Peter and Paul Nicholson operated commercial orchards, shipping produce as far as Richmond, Virginia (Hitch 1931; Nicholson 1978). By the 1930s, a village known as Old Rag had grown up at a crossroads in the center of the valley, with the post office serving as a community center. Although the post office is long gone, it remains central to a remembered community identity. The grandson of the Old Rag postmaster, himself a postal employee, cherishes a card stamped with the Old Rag postmark on the day it was closed (J. Brown, personal communication, 1997). The village included two stores, two churches, and a school when it was abandoned to make way for Shenandoah National Park. While Mandel Sherman considered the community far below acceptable standards of civilization, residents clearly disagreed:

> [Weakley] Hollow is continually running away from reality. The few people who recognize their limitations but lack the intelligence and vigor to surmount them are able to rationalize themselves into the belief that they are living under ideal conditions. They express contempt for town folk.
>
> (Sherman and Henry 1933: 17)

As city dwellers, Sherman and Henry were clearly on the receiving end of local contempt.

Examinations of eighteenth-century land grants and subsequent county deed transfers in the Madison County Deed Books for Weakley Hollow indicate both the likelihood of mid- to late eighteenth-century settlement as well as the regulated nature of land transactions. Contradicting the claim in a park cultural resource study that "because most of the settlers were Scotch-Irish squatters, land titles and other official documents are non-existent" (Wilhelm 1968: 14), the documentary record indicates that lands were acquired and settled through accepted legal channels (Horning 1999b; Ince 1999; Lillard and Vernon 1992; Perdue and Martin-Perdue 1979–80). Furthermore, families often bought and sold properties and moved between the hollows rather than remaining upon established family farms. A park surveyor learned from former Old Rag village postmaster William Brown that one house in the hollow was believed to date back to the 1750 Archibald Dick patent, which encompassed 400 acres in a level, well-watered part of the hollow (Steere 1936). A series of test pits excavated in the vicinity of this house, which was torn down in the 1940s, unearthed fragments of eighteenth-century creamware, alongside pearlware, and imported ceramic tobacco pipestems, lending material support to Postmaster Brown's memories.

Nicholson Hollow as an agricultural community

Nicholson Hollow, just to the north of Weakley Hollow, never developed a central village. Instead, farms were situated along the fertile bottomland of the Hughes River. While asserting that its perceived isolation rendered Nicholson Hollow "a haven for those seeking, for any reason, freedom from the laws of the state," visiting cultural geographer Margaret Hitch noted in 1931 how the hollow "presented a distinctly cultural landscape," punctuated by orchards, cornfields, hayfields, and clusters of farm buildings (Hitch 1931: 319). Throughout its settlement history, Nicholson Hollow remained agricultural, boasting large and small family farms, sizable orchards, and associated distilling facilities. In addition to the substantial traces of legal nineteenth-century distilleries, collapsed rock ovens and a copper still worm attest to the presence of illicit distilling on the upper slopes in the twentieth century.

Although mountain farming has often been characterized as a subsistence-based, pre-capitalist activity (see Clark 1965, or discussion in Kirby 1987), both the engineered landscape of Nicholson Hollow and census data indicate that concerted market production was always a concern (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920). Despite *Hollow Folk*'s contention that "a spirit of shiftlessness characterizes much of the productive effort of these people" (Sherman and Henry 1933: 176), intensive labor was directed at terracing slopes and stabilizing the riverbank. Some of this work may have been performed by enslaved African

Americans. A one-and-a-half-story log house located on a flat terrace above the Hughes River in the lower portion of the hollow was recently investigated. All archaeological, documentary, and photographic sources suggest that it served to house slaves in the second decade of the nineteenth century (Horning 1998, 1999b).

Examining nineteenth-century agricultural census data shows that in 1850 alone, almost 90 per cent of Nicholson farms produced surplus grain,[7] destined for market via the local mills. Archaeological survey has located one such mill in Weakley Hollow, while another has recently been restored just outside of Nicholson Hollow in the village of Nethers. Later in the settlement history of Nicholson Hollow, land tracts shrank and increasingly smaller, less sturdy homes were constructed on increasingly marginal land. Woodie Corbin's modest twentieth-century log home was perched upon a steep slope, overlooking the rocky shores of the Hughes River – in sharp contrast to the stately nineteenth-century frame and log home of Fenton Sisk, with its 8 × 16 ft front porch overlooking relatively rock-free flat land just downriver from Buddy Nicholson's bottomland farm with its aforementioned former slave quarter.

Corbin Hollow as a community in distress

Community life in the steep and rocky Corbin Hollow differed greatly from that of its neighboring hollows. As painted by Sherman and Henry, Corbin Hollow existed at the "lowest level of social development" with residents living in "scattered mud-plastered log huts," with "no general system of communication between the cabins" and "no road to the outside world" (Sherman and Henry 1933: 5). Despite this bleak portrait, the Corbin Hollow of today is still crisscrossed by the paths that once connected the homes to a road leading up the ridge. Dating of the architectural remains suggests that settlement was directly linked to the accessibility of upper Corbin Hollow to this road, which accesses the nearby Skyland resort, established in 1888. Skyland, which became the center of the park creation movement, was heavily dependent upon local labor and produce (Pollock 1960).

Corbin Hollow residents who had abandoned farming in favor of wage labor and craft sales at the resort, however, had little to fall back upon when the Depression hit and the already rocky financial fortunes of the resort plummeted. Poverty was rife in the hollow, making it a convenient photographic subject for park promoters, including the proprietor of Skyland. Ironically, the economic difficulties of Corbin Hollow were not bred through cultural isolation. By eschewing more traditional agriculture, inhabitants were at the mercy of wider economic processes. Some properties near the road were home to squatter families, an anomaly throughout the rest of the park (Tract Maps and Land Acquisition Records 1926–28).

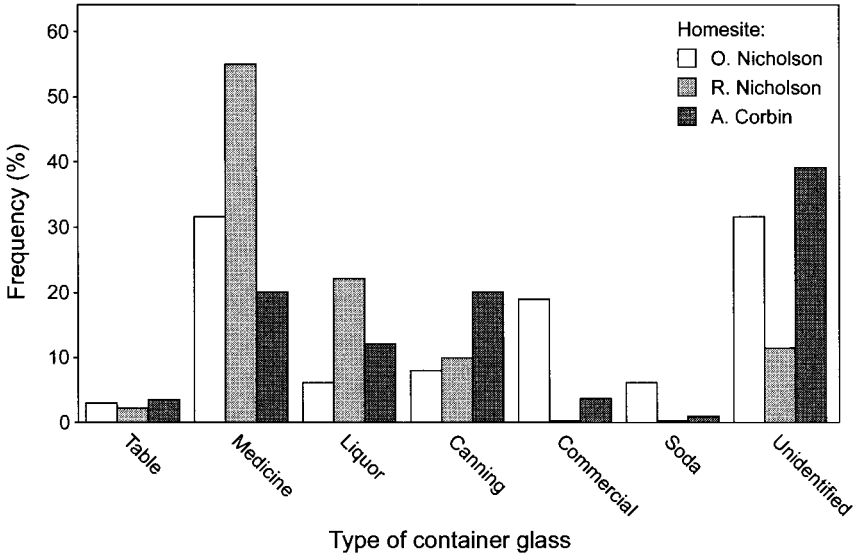

Figure 11.3 Comparison of container glass frequencies at three homesites

The uncertainties of squatter life are reflected in part by the ephemeral nature of the remaining architectural traces. For families who did own property, the placement of dwellings on steep, uncleared slopes speaks volumes about subsistence strategies, as do discarded items. Far higher percentages of tin cans and food jars routinely are found on Corbin Hollow sites, versus higher percentages of mason jars and agricultural items on Nicholson and Weakley Hollow sites (Horning 1999a, forthcoming). As an example, 19 per cent of all container glass found in a surface collection of the Corbin Hollow home of the Oscar Nicholson family related to commercially preserved food jars while only 8 per cent of the glass recovered related to canning jars for home preservation (Figure 11.3). In contrast, no commercial food jar fragments were recovered from Roosevelt Nicholson's former home in Nicholson Hollow, and only 3.5 per cent of the glass recovered from Ambrose Corbin's home in Nicholson Hollow was of commercial food jars – as opposed to 20 per cent canning jar glass fragments.

Over time, the identification of Corbin Hollow with poverty has translated into a widespread acceptance that the community was somehow "different." Ethnographic interviews with former inhabitants of Weakley and Nicholson Hollows reveal an acceptance of the isolation myth, reflecting a common need to distance themselves from the negative images propagated about park land people which were rooted in the academic portrayal of Corbin Hollow. One Weakley Hollow man insisted:

> Corbin Holler . . . they were good people but they were the poorest class of people that was up in there . . . It was very seldom that they got out anywhere or if any marriages taken place it was among, you know, in the families and all. I'm sure of that.
>
> (Shenandoah National Park Archives, 1978 interview tapes)

Echoing Sherman and Henry's description of the typical Corbin Hollow bed as a plank covered with rags, the informant continued on to assert "I know, I've been to their house . . . they did not have a bed . . . They slept on the floor, maybe a pile of rags and stuff like that in their house" (Shenandoah National Park Archives, 1978 interview tapes). In spite of this statement, fragments of bed frames have been found on every Corbin Hollow homesite surveyed (Horning 1999a, forthcoming). Memory is always a blend of the remembered and the received, and many of the former "hollow folk" are well-versed in writings about their past. The late settlement of Corbin Hollow suggests that it exists more as a community in modern retrospect than it did at the time of the park's creation, when ties of kinship bound the three hollows together. However, these ties, as will be seen below, were not immutable.

Archaeology and the negotiation of community identity across the hollows

The material record, while clearly pinpointing the differences in subsistence strategies between the hollows, also reflects individual decisions within an overall process of identity negotiation, a process often responding to external factors. While Darret Rutman (1986: 168–9) has suggested that "the small place of early America was, in sum, a congeries of interacting neighbors – more, of good neighbors – but only because it had to be that way," no such inevitability marked relations within and across Nicholson, Weakley and Corbin Hollows. Community identity and even kinship in the Blue Ridge hollows could be revoked for anti-social behavior. Former Weakley Hollow resident Ray Nicholson remembered how another Nicholson family had dishonestly retained a mail-order package meant for him, and insisted "They were Nicholson, but they weren't no kin to me. That's right. There were a lot of Nicholsons but they wasn't kin" (R. Nicholson 1979; also Horning 1999a). Henry Glassie noted a similar process occurring in the Northern Ireland community of Ballymenone, finding that "their community is a matter of constant negotiation, always shifting, sometimes radically" (Glassie 1982: 26).

These internal and external negotiations are reflected in the archaeological record as well as in the ethnographic and documentary sources. In an analogous example, Brian Thomas (1994) found that although potters in the eighteenth-century Moravian community of Salem, North Carolina, acted

with their co-religionists to maintain zealously their separatist community existence, they readily copied popular British wares for the regional market – while eschewing their local use. The archaeological evidence for the incorporation of pharmaceutical remedies into the medicinal practices of the Blue Ridge hollow dwellers represents similar negotiation. While higher percentages of pharmaceutical glass were found in Corbin Hollow sites, a variety of products ranging from hair tonic to cologne, from catarrh remedies to stomach treatments and liver pills, to concoctions designed to treat "female complaints" were recovered throughout the hollows. Whether these products appealed solely because of their therapeutic value or simply for their high alcohol and narcotic content will never be known. Their presence in each hollow suggests that they were easily incorporated into the panoply of folk medicinal remedies that survive today – not necessarily replacing but certainly enhancing those practices. Dorothy Dyer Trahos (1998), who grew up near Old Rag in the 1920s and 1930s, recalled that "my grandmother was the folk doctor up there! She made the cough syrup, and the gargle for the sore throats, and believe you me, it would help every time!" While Trahos' grandmother incorporated wild cherry tree bark into her throat remedies, Edward Nicholson's mother relied upon blood root (Nicholson 1979). In contrast, Leroy Nicholson recalled that his mother's main flu remedies were "camphor and Vicks" (Nicholson 1978) while George Corbin's family opted simply to visit the doctor in a nearby village (Corbin 1979).

Similarly, and in contrast to popular image, moonshine was not the only alcohol consumed in the hollows. Surface sampling of fourteen sites in the three hollows recovered ample evidence that hollow residents purchased bonded liquor, beer, and wine at the local stores. Only the site of the Highlands Baptist Church in Weakley Hollow was devoid of liquor bottles. Unfortunately, because locally produced whiskey was sold in a variety of containers, including glass canning jars, stone ware jugs, and glass bottles, it is difficult to discern consumption of moonshine from the material record. The presence of store-bought alcohol, however, suggests three possible explanations: that local production could not meet local demand, that law abiding citizens refused to participate in the illegal trade, or simply that local products were not to everyone's taste. The important point is that hollow residents did have access to alternative sources of alcoholic beverages, and they exercised their ability to choose.

Variation in early twentieth-century subsistence in Nicholson, Corbin, and Weakley Hollows, evident in field boundaries, landscape alteration, the incorporation or rejection of mechanized machinery and motorized transport likewise reflects a negotiation exercise. Corbin Hollow resident Wesley Corbin continued to farm his father's hilly farm, employing traditional methods of hand cultivation across steep terraces, but he earned enough cash, presumably through day labor, to flood his family's three-room log house with commercially produced music, indicated by the fragments of

78 rpm records found at the Corbin's farm. While the Corbin children may have played Buck Rogers with a toy ray gun recovered from the slopes behind the house foundation, they also learned how to handle the family's mule-drawn shovel plow. Down in Weakley Hollow where large tracts of land were converted into profitable orchards, families continued to preserve home grown products despite ready access to commercial products. Because George Corbin owned only 5 acres in Nicholson Hollow, where he raised poultry and cultivated the corn and peaches used in his celebrated hooch (see p. 225), he was forced into temporary wage labor as far away as West Virginia to ensure that his family could continue to live in Nicholson Hollow (Tract Maps and Land Acquisition Records 1926–28; Corbin 1966).

Park survey records and field reconnaissance show that architectural forms varied across the three hollows, from simple two-room log houses, to a spacious three-and-one-half-story stone, log, and frame building, located upon farms which varied from 1 acre to over 300 acres.[8] In fact, 25 percent of dwellings described in the tract records for the three hollows were built entirely of frame, 54 percent were constructed wholly of log, while the remaining 21 percent employed a combination of log and frame (Tract Maps and Land Acquisition Records 1926–28). The insubstantial traces of housing in Corbin Hollow, consisting generally of uncoursed, loose rock foundations (e.g. Figure 11.4), contrast with housing in Nicholson and Weakley Hollows (e.g. Figure 11.2). There, houses averaged four rooms in size and were built on solid rock foundations with at least one chimney and often a subsidiary stone stove flue. Variation in stonework can be seen within and between the hollows, suggesting that masons employed individually honed techniques. Members of the Nicholson family are still locally celebrated as excellent stonemasons and so the differentiation notable among the archaeological remains may suggest a possible means of tracing kinship across the hollows both diachronically and synchronically.

While the patterning evident in both artifact assemblages and architectural remains between and within the hollows reflects variations in community life, this evidence is uncomfortably mute as to the emic experiences of past inhabitants, readily demonstrable through available ethnographies. Elmer Dyer's 37–acre Weakley Hollow farm included a four-room log and frame dwelling which housed his twelve-member family. Although the house might seem crowded by modern American sensitivities, Elmer's daughter Leona Dyer Brown described her former home as possessing a "big" front porch, a "big" room over the storage cellar, and a "big" room where she used to sleep (Brown 1997; Horning 1999a). Neighbor Leroy Nicholson described his former four-room home, shared with nine other family members, in similar terms: "Well, the big living room ... ah, it was a tremendous room, it was real large. In fact it was used for a living room and bedroom too, at that time. Then we had a large kitchen and two rooms upstairs" (Nicholson 1978). Perceptions of space are key to understanding the past

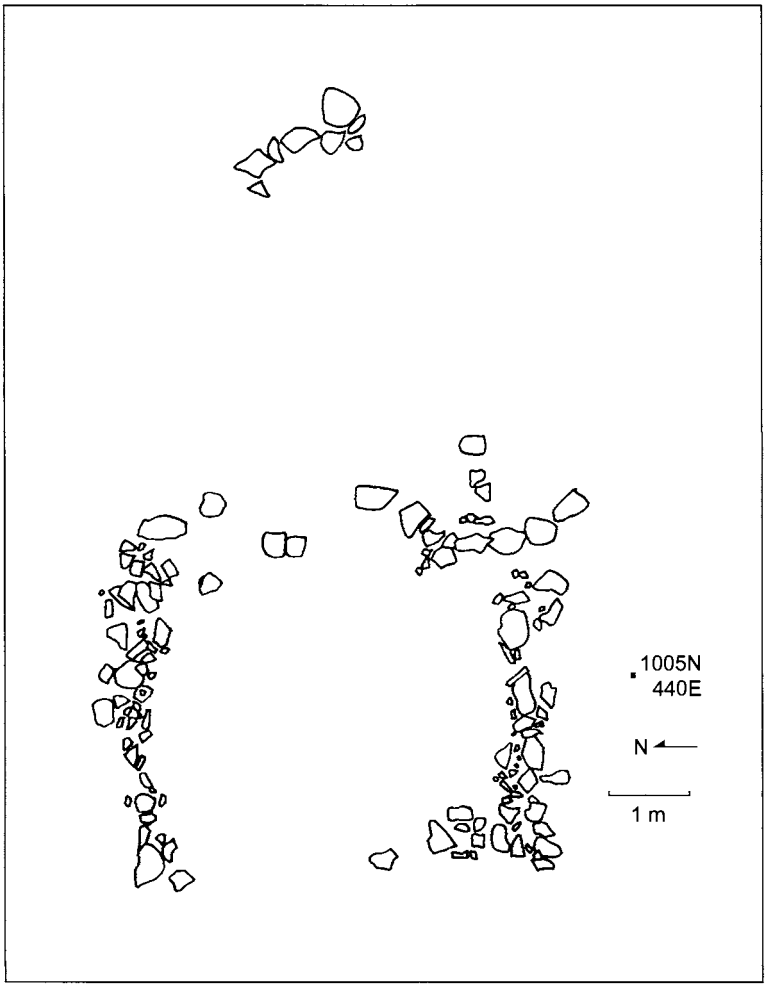

Figure 11.4 Plan of the loosely-coursed "foundation" of a Corbin Hollow dwelling (illustration by the author)

lives which created and interacted with the architectural traces that we ordinarily consider only in reference to their physical features or placement on the landscape (Horning 1999a).

Finally, hollow residents were not blind to the widespread interest in their mountain lifestyle, and rapidly learned to capitalize upon their outward appearance as "different." While the Skyland proprietor may have exploited the labor of the hollow dwellers, they in turn exploited his guests. The practice of traditional basketmaking rapidly expanded in Corbin Hollow

owing to the proximity of a ready tourist market (Horning 1997; Martin-Perdue 1983; Suter 1996) eager to own a piece of authentic mountain culture. Children peddled flowers and berries to guests. One former Corbin Hollow resident remembered how as a child she would don her oldest clothes and "go up on Skyline Drive with our little notes a telling the guest how poor we were . . . write what I call our 'little begging notes' write our little notes and go up there and give them to the guests" (Dodson 1978). Nicholson Hollow resident George Corbin was skilled in exploiting perceptions about hill folk. While Corbin, by his own admission, used to haul his widely celebrated homemade whiskey to Washington, DC, in the trunk of his Model T Ford, he would take it on foot up to the Skyland resort, concomitantly hawking rattlesnake skins and presenting himself as the very epitome of a mountaineer (Corbin 1966). This clever marketing ploy provided funds with which, among other uses, he purchased the Christmas stockings filled with toys from the Sears catalogue fondly recalled by his son, Virgil (Corbin 1979). These clearly self-aware actions reflect an active process of negotiation, in which an imposed identity is co-opted and employed, empowering the local community and its members. The empowerment of the local community, however, was never a unified resistance movement, nor was community membership ever immutable.

Conclusions

Interweaving sources on the historic past of Shenandoah National Park – archaeological, documentary, oral historical, folk traditional, and interpretive – is neither easy nor smooth. Much like the relationship between the past and the present, these sources push and pull at one another, at times contradictory, at times complementary. The portrait that has emerged from a consideration of the data is a complex story of interwoven and ever-shifting community identities, predicated upon interactions within and across the hollows which are themselves punctuated by economic variation, yet sewn together by the strong threads of kinship. The community identities have at times been imposed from without but incorporated from within, and have alternatively been constructed and deconstructed in the past and in the present. The disparate history of these communities have become melded to form a unified community identity in the present, just as the people in the present, through memory and the politics of park creation, have projected a unified community identity into the past.

While most Americanist archaeologists deal with time periods and places lacking a similar richness and variety of sources, there are lessons about the nature of community to be learned from historical archaeology. The fluctuating nuances of identity and community life in the Virginia Blue Ridge, fleshed out by memory and the often contradictory written word *are* reflected in the material record. However, if we underestimate the self-awareness of

the individuals whose communities we endeavor to reconstruct through the material items that they created, acquired, altered, and abandoned, we can never hope to achieve an interpretation of their past realities that is even marginally balanced. Communities consist of individuals who may maintain allegiances to a variety of communities, moving across seldom fixed boundaries and involved in a continual process of identity negotiation and renegotiation, answering both to internal and external forces.

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Notes

1 Sherman and Henry relied heavily upon Sizer's 1932 "Tabulations: Five Mountain Hollows," a survey of households in Nicholson, Corbin, Weakley, Dark, and Richards Hollows performed for the Resettlement Administration that presaged the patronizing attitude of *Hollow Folk*.

2 The drive was originally 97 miles long, with the additional 8 miles transferred to the Park in 1961 from the contiguous Blue Ridge Parkway leading south to Great Smokey National Park.

3 The project was funded by the National Park Service as part of the Systemwide Archaeological Inventory Program (SAIP), and carried out via Cooperative Agreement CA40000–2–1017 with the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

4 Oral histories employed in this project include interviews conducted by the author, recent interviews carried out by Shenandoah National Park archives staff and volunteers, and those conducted by volunteer Dorothy Noble Smith (1983) in the 1970s, on file in the park archives. For over thirty years, scholars Charles Perdue and Nancy Martin-Perdue of the University of Virginia have been collecting oral histories from former Shenandoah National Park residents. These interviews are presently inaccessible, pending eventual publication.

5 Initially aligned with a strong property rights movement in Madison County, the organization now is primarily dedicated to public education about the mountain past, predicated upon the empowerment of former residents and their descendants. The organization has begun collecting its own oral histories. Only individuals who were displaced from the park or their direct descendants can be accorded full membership with voting rights. Despite its recent construction, this self-aware identity is as valid as any historical reconstruction, insofar as it represents the emic perspective of present mountain residents.

6 The establishment of the Ragged Mountain Baptist Church is discussed in Yowell 1926 and Tanner 1978 and is mentioned in Vernon 1976 and Perdue and Martin-Perdue 1979.

7 Estimating that the average farm family required 185 bushels of grain per year for home subsistence, Wilma Dunaway (1995) recently characterized only one-tenth of antebellum Appalachian farms as subsistence-based. Nicholson farmers consistently produced over this measure in the nineteenth century (Horning forthcoming). Interviews with Leroy Nicholson, Newton Nicholson and George Corbin, among others on file at Shenandoah National Park, discuss farming and gardening in Nicholson Hollow.

8 The former was the home of Haywood Nicholson in Weakley Hollow, owned by Mrs Hettie Hudson. The latter cabin was inhabited by Eddie Nicholson and his family in Corbin Hollow.

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12

TOWARD AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF COMMUNITIES

Joyce Marcus

Somewhere between household and empire lies the community. The moment we begin to ask *where* it lies, however, we find that there is no universal answer for all ethnic groups. An immediate problem is the lack of fit between any society's definition of "community" and the physical remains left for archaeologists to study.

For Mesoamerican ethnologists Chambers and Young, a community

> is a group of people living in close proximity, most often in a place with geographical or political boundaries. A community study may be the result of research devoted to a single such place, or to a part of a community . . . or to the comparison of a number of recognized and bounded communities.
>
> (Chambers and Young 1979: 46)

However workable such a definition may be for ethnologists, the challenge for archaeologists is to determine the "geographic or political boundaries." Was the prehistoric "community" isomorphic with a village? While this might have been true of the New World's earliest and simplest sedentary societies, it certainly was not true for later and more complex societies.

Among many New World societies, the community included "all persons claiming descent from a common ancestor," regardless of how many villages they occupied. Some villages were large and nucleated; others consisted of multiple, dispersed clusters of residences. In the Andes, as we shall see below, a community might include a nucleated village at one altitude and a series of herders' corral sites at higher elevations. Individuals held multiple memberships as nuclear family member, extended family member, *calpulli* or *ayllu* member, trading partner, fictive kinsman, and so on. Many lived in societies whose settlement pattern included a nested hierarchy of households within residential wards, wards within villages, villages around civic-ceremonial centers, and centers within polities. And as if this were

not enough of a problem for the archaeologist, communities were dynamic over time – hamlets might grow to village or town size, then shrink, eventually disappearing from the archaeological record.

To be sure, archaeologists are free to ignore ethnographic reality and simply devise an objective typology of settlements, recoverable by survey or excavation. Many anthropological archaeologists, however, regard this as a kind of intellectual surrender. They enjoy the challenge of trying to connect the archaeological record with the indigenous concept of community.

Clues to the native definitions of community can be found in ethnohistoric documents, Colonial dictionaries, and in hieroglyphic texts. A nagging question, however, remains: how far back in time can we project sixteenth-century definitions of community? Would the definitions used by petty, balkanized Postclassic kingdoms in Oaxaca and the Yucatán really be relevant to the larger states of the Classic period? Would the definitions used by sixteenth-century empires really be relevant to earlier and simpler Preclassic societies? The ethnohistoric and ethnographic data are too compelling to ignore, but their use requires discipline and a great deal of common sense. We must never lose sight of the fact that we may be comparing societies that operated on very different levels of social and political complexity.

For archaeologists doing settlement pattern surveys, the raw data consist of ruined buildings, concentrations of artifacts on the surface, and the gaps in between. No matter how systematic their methods of establishing the boundaries of "sites" and "regions," it is difficult to determine whether a given patch of physical remains would have been considered a "community" by the people who lived there. Even when we are aware that boundaries extend beyond the sherd scatter, that emigrants from a village may continue to behave as if they were still part of it, and that far-flung networks of fictive kin and trading partners link families into communities larger than one settlement, it is difficult to know how to close the gap between indigenous concepts and archaeological units. The result is that our archaeological models may be even more normative than their ethnographic counterparts.

The excavations that follow surveys face problems too. Rarely are they extensive enough to incorporate the full diversity of households and residential wards, the result being that we often create "types" of households when we have only fragments of a continuum. When we focus on the activities common to each household (cooking, grinding corn, storing water) we may overemphasize homogeneity; when we focus on shell ornaments, jade beads, or other craft items we may exaggerate the differences among families.

As for the nested hierarchies of archaeological units, they have been approached in two ways: "top-down" and "bottom-up." Settlement pattern surveyors often begin with the largest ceremonial center in the region, and work down to the network of smaller satellite communities around it.

Excavators often begin at the bottom, with the individual households of which each settlement is composed, and work up – attempting to link households to wards, then shared public buildings or spaces, and finally neighbors. Some combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches is probably to be recommended, but even so it may be difficult to show a close fit between the indigenous and archaeological models.

While houses may have walls that help define their limits, the delimitation of wards or neighborhoods is more difficult. One strategy used by ethnologists is to define such units through the interaction patterns of multiple households; this strategy has been used successfully by Monaghan (1995) in the Mixtec region and Watanabe (1992) in the Maya region. To be sure, it is easier for ethnologists to observe multiple household interactions than it is for archaeologists (see papers by Preucel and Yaeger, this volume). The fact remains, however, that archaeologists often tend to excavate one household (or make one stratigraphic cut) and expect the results to "typify" the entire site. By so doing, they cut themselves off from the sources of variation that could help them define contrasting neighborhoods.

Indigenous models of "community"

Some idea of the magnitude of the problem facing archaeologists can be drawn from a sample of New World states. To get a sense of how these societies defined community, we can look at a few of the better known cases. Let us begin in the north with the Aztec and proceed south to the Andes.

The Aztec

For the Aztec, as for other Mesoamerican peoples, one meaning of "community" was "all those who owe allegiance to one lord." A key term was *altepetl* (literally "water" + "hill"), which could mean "community," "town," "polity," "kingdom," "province," or "all the people under one lord" (Carrasco 1971; Gibson 1964; Hodge 1984; Lockhart 1992; Schroeder 1991; Hare, this volume). *Altepetl* thus referred to far more than the nucleated town whose borders might be recovered by archaeological survey; it included the whole territory administered by the ruler, such as outlying dependencies and landholdings.

> A community's land within its términos [boundaries] might include not only the calpullalli [calpulli lands] in which each macegual [commoner] worked his tlamilli [field or plot], but also a forest (*monte*) used for stone or firewood or pasturage or protection against a neighbor.
>
> (Gibson 1964: 270)

Some major land classes among the Aztec were (1) the *teotlalli*, or land of the temples and gods; (2) the *tecpantlalli*, or land of the community houses; (3) the *tlatocamilli*, or land of the rulers; (4) the *pillalli* and *tecuhtlalli*, or land of the nobles; and (5) the *calpullalli*, or land of the *calpulli* (Gibson 1964: 257). The last category refers to the Aztec *calpulli* (literally "big house"), which is a difficult term to define. Some scholars consider it a group of families occupying a territorial unit, while others see it as a corporate landholding unit or a kin unit with land rights.

Teotlalli lands were worked in common by people who delivered the harvests exclusively to the temples. Lands worked for the benefit of local nobles adjoined the towns and were worked by "all the people together" for two to three hours a day. These lands were for the support of the offices held by nobles, rather than being their personal property. *Tecpantlalli* was regarded by the Indians of towns like Tepetlaoztoc as "land of the community" and was worked for common purposes (*cosas tocantes al común*) (Gibson 1964: 259–60).

Obviously, there are difficulties inherent in any attempt to recover such categories of "communities" archaeologically. In this volume, Hare begins with the house (*calli*), the sub-ward (*chinamitl*), and residential ward (*calpulli*, *tlaxilacalli*, or *calpultlaxilacalli*), then moves outward to the *altepetl*. He notes strong evidence for variation over time and diversity from place to place. Hare's solution to the difficulty of matching archaeological remains (houses, patio groups, villages, towns, and cities) to ethnohistoric units (houses, patio groups, wards, *calpultin*, and *altepeme*) is to focus more attention on the wards and sub-wards and determine how they related to the *altepetl*. The ethnohistoric and archaeological settlement hierarchies most closely correspond to each other below the level of the town. Hare concludes that the lower settlement levels were the most important social and cultural units, but he remains open to the idea that the *altepetl* was the principal territorial unit, as Lockhart (1982, 1992) has argued. Hare shows (1) that it is easier for archaeologists to recover houses and patio groups than *calpultin* and *altepeme*, and (2) that archaeology and ethnohistory are complementary, rather than isomorphic data sets.

The Oaxacan peoples

The difficulty of establishing a Mixtec definition of "community" is exemplified by John Monaghan's work at Santiago Nuyoo in the Mixteca Alta (Monaghan 1995). Monaghan arrived intending to provide a "model" of the community or *ñuu*. After a period of initial frustration, he found that what seemed to be particularly important in defining Nuyoo as a community was the web of social interactions involving marriage, gift exchange, pooling and distributing goods, and communal labor. "The question, What is the Nuyooteco definition of community? should thus be shifted from a

search for models of finished social groups to a focus on local articulations of how collectivities form and accomplish goals" (Monaghan 1995: 13).

The difficulty of recovering such a "community" in the archaeological record should be obvious. We can hold out more hope for a second definition of the Mixtec term *ñuu*, which can mean "community" in the sense of "populated place" or "town." The Mixtec had a hieroglyphic sign for *ñuu* which they used in the painted codices of the Postclassic period; it was essentially a long rectangular frieze decorated with multicolored geometric patterns. Such friezes were sometimes interchangeable with *yucu*, or "hill" signs. Depending on the situation, both *ñuu* and *yucu* could mean "town," "community," or "place" (Smith 1973: 39).

The sixteenth-century Zapotec counterpart for *ñuu* was *queche*, which could mean "large town," "small town," "city," or "populated place" (Marcus 1983b: 207). Of course, *queche* could also refer to "a province whose members owed allegiance to the same lord." As yet we have no Zapotec hieroglyph for *queche*, like the frieze which stands for the Mixtec *ñuu*. We do, however, have a Zapotec hieroglyphic sign for *tani*, "hill," which, like the Mixtec *yucu* sign, can also mean "place." At least forty such "hill" signs were carved in stone between 150 BC and AD 150, and they seem to refer to places on the periphery of the expanding Zapotec state (Marcus 1992: 394–400).

The Maya

Sixteenth-century and modern data on the Maya are particularly rich. We have an extensive series of native terms, from units as small as the house to as large as the territory controlled by a local lord (Martínez Hernández 1929; Marcus 1983a: 468–9; 1983b: 207–8).

We may begin with the smaller units, because the Maya considered the house (*na*) and the household (*nalil*) the fundamental building blocks of their communities. Maya groups distinguish different kinds of houses which archaeologists can identify through excavation. For example, the Yucatec Maya distinguish *nokak na*, "stone houses with vaulted stone roofs" from *kumkab na* and *k'axbil na* "perishable houses with thatched roofs." They also have a term for "guest houses," *k'amul na*, which might be more difficult for archaeologists to identify.

A Maya household can consist of one building or several structures. Some households may be organized around a plastered patio or a simpler earthen courtyard. When the household comprises several structures, one building may house a nuclear family while the others serve different functions – cooking, storage, a family shrine, a roofed work area, and so forth. The courtyard is an essential element in the household, because it is there that much of the women's work and ritual take place. In other cases, multiple structures on a shared courtyard may house an extended family. We need

reliable methods for distinguishing the remains of extended families from those of nuclear families with multiple outbuildings.

Archaeologically Maya households seem to come in at least three categories: (1) "isolates" or individual buildings (and even these may be cases where only the sturdy buildings endured, while any associated ramadas and lean-tos have perished); (2) two to three structures forming a cluster, but lacking a central courtyard or patio (such clusters may not have been planned as a unit, but instead reflect the developmental cycle or growth of a family unit over time); and (3) the more formal "patio group" or "courtyard group," where multiple households share the same central patio.

Households are important because, in contemporary Maya villages, informants stress that it is the *daily round of routine activities in the home* that gives them a sense of belonging or "community." In the highland Guatemalan community of Santiago Chimaltenango, John Watanabe (1992: 129, 217) says that Mam householders engage one other in a "formal language of community" about "saint and *witz* [mountains/ancestors], souls and soul-loss, mutual obligations and public recognition." Since the house is something we can usually identify archaeologically, it is a boon for us that the indigenous population also regards it as a signifier of "community."

The next larger Maya unit is the "neighborhood," *tzukub*, or "ward," *kuchteel*. Such neighborhoods or wards might include five to twelve households covering 300 sq. m or more. Archaeologists often look for open spaces between clusters of buildings as a way of separating one neighborhood from another. At some sites natural topographic features, such as ravines or ridges, help to separate clusters of houses. When open spaces or topographic features are lacking, however, it is obviously more difficult for archaeologists to define wards or neighborhoods. Complete house-by-house inventories might aid us in defining certain kinds of wards, particularly those where neighbors (or kinsmen) produced similar crafts.

The next larger unit would be the hamlet, called by the Yucatec Maya a *pet kah* (literally "round place" or "round village"). Hamlets provide their own problems in identification. When a clearly isolated cluster of houses is found, we may be dealing with a hamlet; when the separation between two clusters is not great, however, we often cannot be sure if the clusters are two separate hamlets or two neighborhoods of the same "community."

The next larger unit would be the village. There is a size continuum from small villages (*chanchan kah*) to large villages or small towns (*chan kah*) to very large towns or cities (*noh kah*). A still larger unit would be the *kahkab*, "a large town and all the lands belonging to it," "a township or community," or "all those lands controlled by one lord." Both *kah* and *kahkab* could be translated "community." The term *kahkab* is composed of two words, *kah*, "populated place," and *kab*, "land" or "earth." In the joining of the two words (*kah* + *kab*), we see the Maya combining the "built environment" with "the natural environment," thereby extending "community"

to encompass both a populated place and its associated non-populated lands. The Pokom Maya of the Guatemala highlands provide an example of a group for whom "community" includes a main town, satellite hamlets, and farm land (Miles 1957: 771).

It is not difficult to understand why maize fields and orchards were considered as much a part of the community as houses. For the Maya the Earth was (and still is) a living creature whose benevolence allows man to dig into it to plant crops, to fell its trees to build houses, to extract its mud to make daub, and so forth (Thompson 1970; Vogt 1969, 1976). Much of what archaeologists might consider an unoccupied "no-man's-land" between settlements may be (by analogy with today's Maya) forested lands where the village had communal rights to procure firewood. When archaeologists map an archaeological community, these "unoccupied" or unmodified zones tend to be left out of the map because they lack manmade structures. It is also difficult to calculate their extent.

The relationship between the living Earth and the community that resides atop it is very complex; among the links are human ancestors (Flannery and Marcus 1976; see Bartlett and McAnany, this volume). Early in Maya history the relationship between ancestors and their descendants was maintained by burying the dead in the earth beneath their house; in later times, some members of society were buried in separate cemeteries or in association with public buildings.

The link between the community, Earth, and the ancestors was manifested in other ways too. The dead could be shown as trees planted in the soil, as on the sides of the sarcophagus in the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque. Here the ancestors of the ruler Pacal are shown as trees emerging from fissures in the earth (Marcus 1992: 292–3). Those trees have been identified by Ruz Lhuillier (1973) as cacao, chicozapote, avocado, guayaba, coyol, and mamey trees whose pods and fruits were highly valued. All those trees were by then domesticated and carefully tended in orchards, many of which were on lands outside the town or village. The fact that royal ancestors were viewed as emerging from Earth in association with important fruit trees gives us hints at how broad the concept of "community" was for the ancient Maya.

Finally, one other way the Maya defined "community" was "all those who share the same surname, the same patronymic." Yucatec Maya having the same last name could be highly localized (living in contiguous towns) or spread throughout several northern provinces of Yucatán (Roys 1957).

Shared descent is one important meaning of "community," but it is surely a phenomenon difficult to detect through most archaeological research designs (see Hare, this volume). Archaeologists will probably always be more comfortable using clusters of structures to define communities, and will usually be at a loss to identify "those sharing the same patronymic" when their houses are dispersed through several towns or provinces. Only

when DNA analysis is more fully developed might it be possible to link kinsmen's skeletons in cemeteries or under house floors in scattered communities (I suspect this will be done with royal burials long before it is done with commoners). And even with DNA analysis, we must confront the fact that "shared descent" is an emic concept. Fictive kinship was common in Mesoamerica, and royal usurpers were fond of placing themselves in genealogies to which they did not really belong (Gillespie 1989; van Zantwijk 1985).

The Andes

If defining the limits of the broader "community" is difficult in Mesoamerica, the problems facing settlement pattern archaeologists in the Andes can be even worse. One might perhaps determine the boundaries of an individual *llaqta* – "nucleated town" in Quechua – only to find that many of its occupants live elsewhere.

Consider, for example, the community of Q'ero, 150 km east of Cuzco (Webster 1972). Its *llaqta* or civic-ceremonial center lies at 3,300 m elevation, but many families live on lands as high as 5,300 m in order to pasture their animals on the alpine tundra or *puna*; other families live in tropical areas as low as 1,800 m to grow certain fruits. Although the people associated with the civic-ceremonial center live in a dozen hamlets above and below it, when asked where they live they invariably respond, "Q'ero" (Webster 1972: xi). The complete survey of such a community, called a "vertical archipelago" by Murra (1972), presents a daunting challenge to archaeologists (see Goldstein, this volume).

A key concept for Andean communities is the *ayllu*, a Quechua term as slippery for the anthropologist as the Nahuatl *calpulli* (Acosta 1940; Ávila 1983; Cunow 1929). Spatially, *ayllu* can refer to a residential ward, an entire village, a district, or even a major region of Peru (Isbell 1977: 91). Apart from its spatial aspects, it can be used to refer to a "family," a "community," or "all those kinsmen who share the same *pacarina* or place of origin." In spite of the implication that *ayllu* members are tied together by common origin, Zuidema (1983: 53) reports that non-members can elect to join. Exactly how an archaeologist could find the limits of an *ayllu* is difficult to imagine. Convincing other skeptical archaeologists that he or she had accomplished it would be even tougher.

Discussion

Geographer Dov Nir (1990: 59–60) reminds us that there are two contrasting ways to define "region." It is, on the one hand, *a mental concept on the part of its inhabitants*. On the other hand, for professional geographers it is *a reality that exists in space*.

The sample of New World societies discussed above tells us that we have a similar contrast in the definition of community. Native peoples of the New World define "community" as *a network of interactions* among families, residential wards, real and fictive kinsmen, trading partners, hamlets, and villages, occupied lands and orchards, perhaps even all the subjects of a local ruler. Professional archaeologists, on the other hand, most often use "community" to refer to a *cluster of artifacts and ruined structures that exists in space*.

We know that we can recover "communities" in the sense that archaeologists use the term. A greater challenge is to see how close we can come to recovering the indigenous version of "community."

Those using a "bottom-up" approach have begun to work out the anatomy of the household and its associated work areas, tool kits, storage features, middens, outbuildings, patios, and courtyards (Yaeger, this volume; see also Bermann 1994; Charlton *et al.* 1993; Healan 1993; Smith 1993; Widmer and Storey 1993; Wilk and Ashmore 1988). At the next level, we need to look at the flow of materials linking households to wards or neighborhoods (Stanish 1989). In Preclassic Oaxaca, for example, families that were skilled at flintknapping or shell working seem to have supplied other families in their ward with finished products; and the marine shell itself implies trading partners, perhaps treated as fictive kin, living hundreds of kilometers away. As Rodman (1992: 651) says, "each community, or each individual, is also part of a chain of attachment to places." Thus a focus on multiple communities and their interactions is useful; in this volume Bartlett and McAnany compare four Preclassic Belize villages, Joyce and Hendon compare two Honduran settlement systems, and Pauketat compares the Yazoo Basin, greater Cahokia, and the middle Mississippi Valley.

This focus on networks of communities, each with its own perspective, touches on what Rodman (1992) calls "multilocality" and "multivocality." To be sure, it is far more difficult for archaeologists to assess the impact of "multiple voices" on intercommunity networks than it is for ethnologists. The ethnographic work, however, reminds us that there are networks of interacting villages which constitute units larger than the village but smaller than the entire local polity.

In the course of its history, a given village may join or drop out of one of these larger "communities." Here is an area where village sites with deep stratigraphy – especially if they feature refurbishment, repair, and replacement of houses – can play a role. At times their changing participation in multifamily or multivillage networks will be reflected in changing artifact inventories, particularly with regard to craft goods or exotic raw materials (see Yaeger, this volume).

Finally, before leaving the individual hamlet, village, or town, recall that many indigenous societies saw themselves as residing atop a living Earth to which they were linked through their ancestors. The excavation

of cemeteries at such sites therefore becomes an important analytical step, yielding data that no surface survey can provide. In the future, both DNA analysis and the study of genetically transmitted micro-anatomical traits will help us to understand that a "community" does not necessarily end at the boundaries of a village.

For the New World's more complex societies, as we have seen, "community" was a unit larger by far than the individual settlement on which most archaeologists focus. It could include a ruler's residence and the lands designated to support him; a series of temples and the lands designated to support their staff; a series of subject towns, villages, and hamlets; and a series of unoccupied lands set aside for farming, hunting, fishing, or firewood collecting. Such a "community" is too large for anyone to excavate thoroughly, and may even present problems to the settlement pattern surveyor who seeks to delimit its boundaries.

The Colonial Spaniards did us a favor when they asked many native lords to provide maps showing the extent of their realm (see, for example, Figs 6.5, 6.7, 6.10, 6.11, 6.16 in Marcus 1992). Those maps show us how territories were delimited in the world view of the native ruler. Many used unchanging landmarks, such as mountains and rivers, as the boundaries of their lands; others referred to populated places, or to the dynastic houses ruling those places. The Aztec, Zapotec, and Mixtec used hills as place names along the boundaries of their communities, while the Yucatec Maya tended to use cenotes, or natural wells, in addition to towns. These Colonial maps reinforce a point made earlier, namely, that the human community often saw its spatial boundaries as including both artificially created settlements and natural landscapes.

It is clear from this volume that an "archaeology of communities" is underway. It is also not surprising that archaeology has begun with the units defined by excavators and settlement pattern surveyors, that is, "households" and "villages." This is a good beginning, but ahead lies the difficult task of developing methods to recover the units defined by indigenous societies. It is a task that must inevitably unite excavators and settlement pattern archaeologists with ethnohistorians and ethnologists.

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13

WHAT WE SHOULD BE STUDYING

The "imagined community" and the "natural community"

William H. Isbell

Introduction

The archaeology of community must be an important part of our study of the past. Humans are social animals. They do not live in isolation, except perhaps for a few hermits who reproduce neither themselves nor their culture. To successfully reproduce organism, society and culture, people must participate in communities – individuals who associate into groups to live and work together. But what is the nature of "community," or in other words, how should this guiding concept be understood by archaeologists? As the contributions to this volume show, the importance of "community" as a tool for investigation is not matched by its clarity or unambiguous use.

A human community is traditionally defined in terms of the solidarity produced by two things: (1) shared residence or space, and (2) shared life experiences, knowledge, goals, and sentiments. First, however, since the subjects and objects of research are both human, it is rarely clear whether the appellation "community" is applied *emically*, affirming solidarity experienced by members, or *etically*, affirming the inferences of an external investigator. Both are simply called "community." I suspect that many archaeologists do not regard this as a problem. "Community" is assumed to be real and natural. It is internally homogeneous, externally bounded, and characterized by a collective consciousness shared by all affiliates. It is equally apparent to associates and observers alike. I am increasingly convinced that this view is in serious error.

Second, while community is defined with two criteria, spatial propinquity and shared sentiments, the definition is repeatedly violated, whether the community under discussion is *emically* or *etically* determined. I can

speak *emically* of an academic community, whose members share significant knowledge, goals, and sentiments, but are not co-resident. I can speak *etically* of the Christian fundamentalist community, that I perceive as a unit, but is neither co-resident nor in agreement about knowledge, goals, and sentiments, at least as far as its members are concerned. Alternatively, I can depend on the spatial criteria alone. I can speak *etically* of houses located within an administrative district as a community, even if the residents hardly know one another and experience little solidarity. Why do we tolerate such contradictions in a key concept, and why haven't we developed alternative terms for groups that fulfill certain subsets but not all of the community definition?

New concepts are emerging in anthropology. "Ethnicity" can also be defined as a group whose solidarity is based on shared knowledge, goals, and sentiments, but no co-residence. Perhaps "community" should be reserved for cases characterized by co-residence *and* solidarity, while "ethnicity" could be used in cases of solidarity alone. But, in fact, "ethnicity" has the same ambiguities as "community," sharing behaviorist assumptions that solidarity develops unconsciously from propinquity. In common as well as anthropological usage, "ethnic" implies a group which once was co-residential. Although anthropological investigators have documented many cases of the manipulation and deliberate shaping of ethnicity, social scientists remain reluctant to apply the term to associations with no original homeland, such as the academic community, a labor union, or a proselytizing religious group (Jones 1996, 1997). Apparently, "ethnicity" is struggling with the same contradictions as "community."

"Identity" is another concept closely related to "community" and "ethnicity." Will it eventually resolve the contradictions surrounding the other two concepts? I suspect not because many of us subscribe simultaneously to two contradictory concepts of "community." On one hand, we subscribe to a behaviorist ideal that humans are unconsciously conditioned; so, a community, composed of members who occupy the same local territory, is a real and bounded object of solidarity, both in material and sentiment.

On the other hand, we also realize that "community" is a conscious emotion and an abstraction of the imagination based on perception of mutual action. Experiences and representations of community differ. Community discourses compete with one another. Alternative representations, such as those created by archaeologists using maps and charts, those created by government officials using land titles and marriage records, and others created by residents using kin terms and reciprocal labor exchanges, impact on one another, contributing to the dynamics of community. But most of us realize, at some level, that the bounded and homogeneous community is but one more representation – expertly packaged in ethnographies written in the "ethnographic present." "Noise" attributed to outside influence has been

filtered out and the community is revealed as our theory informs us that it ought to be.

The collection of articles in this book shows archaeology to be at a crossroads. To the right is "community" as a real and bounded entity, a static, natural unit of comparative social science. To the left is "community" as process, an imagined community constructed in competing discourses, dynamic, contingent, and contradictory (Anderson 1987; Cohen 1985; Comaroff 1987; Gow 1995; Hobsbawm 1983; Jones 1997; Moore 1994; Rodman 1992; Soja 1989; Urban 1996). Some of the contributors to this volume employ the "natural community" concept. Others employ the "imagined community" concept. Some never deal with the concept, or slip back and forth without fully recognizing the contradictions. At least one author seeks to resolve the two concepts. I believe this demonstrates that it is time for archaeologists to deal explicitly with "community." We must recognize the existence of competing concepts. We must examine each and determine its implications. Are the concepts mutually exclusive, as I believe, or can they be resolved into a consensus definition? We can no longer afford the logical inconsistencies of implicit but probably contradictory concepts. Nor can archaeologists any longer afford to talk past one another. In the following I present a perspective I developed by participating in the community symposium, and subsequently rereading the contributions. It was not available to the authors as they prepared their papers.

Natural community, the object of anthropological research

During the 1930s, participant observation community studies became a primary goal of American anthropology. By the 1950s and 1960s many anthropologists had lost sight of the fact that these "communities" were defined as much by the methods of participant observation ethnography as by social reality. Anthropologists convinced themselves that the small community of directly interacting individuals – fulfilling its own social, economic and reproductive needs – was an empirical thing discovered ethnographically. As the anthropological imagination was reified, a science of comparative anthropology appeared to show that the community was the natural unit of human organization within which the linkage of society and culture could be explained.

George Homans (1950) argued that the human community was necessitated by the material interdependencies of people. Interdependencies required interactions, that in turn unconsciously produced sentiments of the individual for the group. "Thus the strength of a group, a spatial community, to unite and direct its members' actions will be a result of the degree of interdependence and sentiment generated between members and for

the group as a whole" (Minar and Greer 1969: 3). In this behaviorist view, the community was natural and necessary, while shared sentiments of solidarity, including norms and world view, were inevitable products, making them primordial essentials of the community.

Conrad Arensberg and Solon Kimball (1965) enunciated basics for a comparative anthropology that would explain patterns of culture and structure of a society through the habitual activities and relationships of individuals within the functionally integrated and externally bounded, small community.

> Each community contains its basic minimum of personnel, *individuals* who in their *activities* and *relationships* engage with others in *events* in which it is possible to discern the order of action, and hence the *structure* of the system of habitual relationships. Further, it is possible to ascertain the *functions* that activities and relationships possess, both in their contributory sense to the welfare of the group and in the extent to which modification of one aspect affects another. Finally, *space* and *time* are socially structured through the distribution and activity of the personnel in the events. These variables, in their specific qualities and in their relationships to each other, constitute the *internal conditions* that give each community its particular characteristics
>
> (Arensberg and Kimball 1965: 328, emphasis in the original)

Robert Redfield (1953, 1955, 1956) played an important role in community studies, providing key definitional concepts for "The Little Community," that was also the title of his most influential book. George Peter Murdock (1949: 79) had already proclaimed the nuclear family and community as human universals, but Redfield was more cautious. Someone would always find a case to the contrary, like the nineteenth-century colonization of the American prairie, presented as a society of homesteads, lacking the community. But, it is clear that Redfield considered the little community to be "man's" natural social unit. Redfield (1955: 1–12) also avoided explicitly evolutionary terms, but he imagined development from the nomadic, hunting and gathering band to the sedentary farming village as the natural history of the community for virtually all of humanity.[1] "Community" was a "human whole," along with a multitude of other common-sense units of analysis, from "person" or "personality" to "nuclear family" to a "set of literature," "an art," or "a civilization." For Redfield, the community was the primordial form of human existence, disrupted recently by urban nation states, and occasionally by atypical situations such as life in dispersed homesteads.

The ubiquitous community unit shared a collective consciousness, accounting for its distinctiveness from other communities, and for its tendency to bear a name.[2] The universal community unit was homogeneous,

slow-changing, and small enough for the anthropologist to treat any individual as representative of all of the members of the same age and sex. The community provided for all the needs of its members, from food and shelter to socialization, religion and sex, although in the throws of acculturation little communities sometime satisfied a few needs by going beyond their circumscribed boundaries. Finally, the community was an integrated whole without segmentation or factionalism.

Redfield (1955) conceptualized the little community as a holistic spatial entity and an integrated ecosystem. Each community had its own moral norms, member life-cycles, characteristic personality, world view, and history of collective achievements. The Siriono band of about sixty people, studied by Alan Holmberg (1950), represented the human condition some 15,000 years ago. While the band community existed within a region with other bands of similar culture and language, visiting between them was sporadic and there were no political or ceremonial institutions among the Siriono that could promote common action of the sort that Redfield (1955: 115) considered "tribal." Until the development of nation states, communities were spatially bounded entities, but for occasional deviance, like rural Wales and the nineteenth-century American prairie.

Of course, each community was nestled within a larger community composed of similar and related little communities, but anthropological participant observation was rarely carried out on such a grand scale. Julian Steward (1950; see also Arensberg 1954) was among a few anthropologists who criticized community studies for excessively isolating the local group from a regional context, especially in more modern and complex cultural contexts. But there seems to have been uncontested agreement that in the past natural communities did exist as essential entities in bounded isolation.

Community studies never disappeared from our discipline, but since their ascendancy many anthropologists have been tutored by Oscar Lewis' (1951) restudy of Tepoztlan. In utter disagreement with Redfield, his professor and mentor, Lewis found this Mexican village to be characterized by factionalism and disagreement, to say nothing of complex links with the outside world. Our discipline has also been reshaped by Julian Steward's seminal program in Puerto Rico (Steward *et al.* 1956), that prepared a generation of scholars like Sidney Mintz (1956, 1974, 1979) and Eric Wolf (1969, 1982; Wolf and Mintz 1957), who demonstrated how seemingly isolated communities participate in contingent history that is bewilderingly ramified throughout a vast world system. In these new lights few anthropologists could sustain the old assumption of a universal process of homogeneous sentiment formation within a bounded "little community." Concurrently, anthropology has discarded the behaviorist mode of thinking in favor of informed human agents (Bourdieu 1973, 1977, 1990; Giddens 1984). Feminists and Marxists have exposed the errors of assuming homogeneity within the "community," or even the household (Brumfiel 1992;

Moore 1988, 1994; Sanday 1974). Sentiment and solidarity are no longer considered "natural" products of interaction and interdependence.

While most socio-cultural anthropologists have discarded the "bounded, homogeneous community" as a reification of ethnographic writing, some archaeologists still affirm its utility. In fact, the "natural community" appears to be the concept preferred by processual, evolutionary archaeology, probably making it the consensus position of U.S.-trained archaeologists. Evolutionary progression from bands to tribes to chiefdoms to states has transformed into bands to village communities, to chiefdoms, to states (Wilson 1999). The tribe has been replaced by the homogeneous, "natural" community, imagined as an autonomous farming village. In the same evolutionary thinking, the household and the community are presumed to be the natural units of human society, on which the pressures of cultural evolution operate to produce adaptive change (Johnson and Earle 1987).

Currently, Michael Kolb and James Snead are resolutely reaffirming the universality of the community, still claiming that it is the natural unit for a comparative and scientific archaeology. They define "community" in terms of several interlocking criteria (Kolb and Snead 1997: 611). The community consists of a population "of individuals who interact regularly and whose repeated interactions socially reproduce that group." Second, the community controls land and organizes labor to produce a livelihood. Third, community residents share a common sense of membership that springs from common residential and subsistence interests. Finally, the community is territorially discrete, and usually contiguous. It produces a shared cultural landscape as well as a sense of "place" that is integral to community identification. If we add sexual reproduction to the list we have much the same bounded and homogeneous "community" concept employed by Redfield and his contemporaries, represented in more contemporary jargon. Their conception may differ a bit from Redfield's: by privileging economics, especially the organization of labor, but their conception of "community" is characteristic of processual, evolutionary archaeology.

Like ethnographic community studies before them, archaeological theory and method become circularly interdependent in the kind of community analysis advocated by Kolb and Snead (1997: 622). The results are descriptive models of behavioristically conceptualized ideal types. The independent variable is human interactions, and sentiments "naturally" follow. Human agency is precluded in the "natural community" approach, in spite of the fact that Kolb and Snead (1997: 611) affirm that a "community" may manipulate its "physical and symbolic boundaries." Clearly, they have not explored this issue to its logical conclusion. If community boundaries are manipulated so they no longer correspond with the economically and socially interacting individuals, the "natural community" ceases to exist. In that case, community must be produced by human intention. It must be an "imagined community," that can only be understood in terms of the processes of its construction.

The imagined community

If the concept of the "natural community" presumes a high degree of stability in the real world, the "imagined community" is quite the opposite. It assumes that "community" is volatile, characterized by dynamism rather than permanence. Several contributors to this volume even use the term "fleeting." A sense of belonging is certainly promoted by gratifying experiences, reassuring narrative, and expectations of future nurturing (Gow 1995), but it is also promoted by desires and intentions, negative as well as positive. What counts is expression of belonging, in ways that are socially apparent.[3]

The "imagined community" concept recognizes that correspondence between a socially interacting group, a bounded territory, economy, politics, reproductive pool, intergenerational education, desires and sentiments, can exist only in an ideal model, not in the real world. Local groups are never so secluded that their members are isolated from outsiders, and there are always cross-cutting allegiances. Furthermore, one's fellows recognize some identities, but not necessarily what the individual desires. So everyone must choose as well as reject. Of course, in accepting an identity actors affect meanings as well as lived experiences, sometimes intentionally, sometimes unintentionally. The "imagined community" is fluid and changing as actors select alternatives available, strive to create new ones, and pursue the goals they perceive. Bourdieu (1977, 1990) shows us that the dynamics are severely constrained by practice, although self-awareness and reflexive monitoring of the situation do permit individuals certain creativity (Giddens 1984). But in all probability there is more opportunity to play with the identities that compete within an individual than to innovate completely new identities (Moore 1994).

For the archaeologist, the advantage of this conceptualization is that it promotes the study of contingent change within individual cultures rather than universal cultural evolution based on cross-cultural comparisons. It emphasizes power, human difference, intentions and strategies, and unexpected consequences in prehistory. Furthermore, this approach populates the past with individuals who behave like interested agents and uncovers social factions that promote agendas opposed by others, who struggle to resist them.

Perhaps most importantly, the "imagined community" requires archaeologists to understand the material domain as simultaneously the means, medium, and outcome of social reproduction (Soja 1989). The archaeological record contains artifacts, buildings, and landscapes employed by individuals and interests to construct old and new identities, to represent power, and to affirm social relations. The "imagined community" liberates archaeologists from the tyranny of adaptation and behaviorist assumptions claiming that new forms of interaction must precede sentiments produced through conditioning. Too frequently external phenomena such as climate

change are invoked by archaeologists to disrupt presumed homeostatic, functional stasis in past cultures. Only then can new social responses appear. But with this conceptual structure, prehistorians must assume constant reproduction of the community in actions, including the negotiation of diverse desires, realized in the material world. They must interrogate the archaeological record for material cultural discourse intended to influence others.

When a new kind of spatial community appeared in P2 Anasazi culture, a community composed on multiple Unit Pueblos (Lekson 1989), the archaeologist is not directed to compare it with other kinds of communities to determine its adaptive value for overcoming climatic perturbations. Natural selection certainly favors some cultural forms over others, but it does not induce or stimulate adaptive culture change. The archaeologist employing an "imagined community" perspective is not obliged to assume that the new spatial unit was synonymous with a bounded and homogeneous community. What factions and interest groups did it include? What alternative discourses of community can be identified? We may investigate the interests that appear to have preceded a cultural change, asking who might have promoted the change, how and why. We can inquire how a change transformed inhabitants' experiences of community, as well as their identities. We can ask what outcomes were probably intended, and which ones may have been unintentional. With the "imagined community" concept we can investigate these issues as well as economic production, labor allocation, and adaptive advantage.

Many of the contributors to this volume adopt an "imagined community" perspective. In my judgement this produces valuable and exciting insights into the past, making the collection particularly provocative. But we should not conclude that the "imagined community" is without problems. While the "natural community" is clearly defined (even though in practice its definitions are frequently violated or misused) definitions of the "imagined community" remain confusing, particularly, its relationship with a territory. The idea of clear community bounding has been discarded. However, while the "imagined community" is socially produced in discourse, discourse is not independent of place, especially in the ancient world. As a step toward an answer it seems significant that Tim Pauketaut, Robert Preucel, Rosemary Joyce and Julia Hendon, as well as Audrey Horning, the volume contributors most obviously employing the "imaginary community," all discuss groups with strong territorial bases. Horning recognizes a locational grounding for Blue Ridge hollows community identity, even though today it exists more "in the minds of the descendents of the displaced, and in the perceptions of modern park visitors." Is this the legacy of the behaviorist tradition in our discipline, or is there actually an underlying, territorial essential to "community," as the proponents of the "natural community" assume?

Two related and equally serious problems arising from the archaeological epistemology impact any study of the "imagined community." First, we presume a unity between the contemporary ethnographic community and the prehistoric archaeological community. When the ethnographic community is conceptualized as bounded, homogeneous, and based on unconscious, conditioned sentiments, most archaeologists assume that the prehistoric community was similar. When the ethnographic community is reconceptualized as socially produced by competing discourses and representations, then archaeologists begin to think of the prehistoric community as also an imagined community. But is there a unity between past and the present communities, especially regarding the "imagined community?"

An archaeology of community must ask, and resolve this question: Is the dynamic and contested nature of the "imagined community" a feature of all communities, or something unique to the contemporary world, perhaps a result of the compressed spacetime of postmodernity (Harvey 1989)? Is the "natural community" an investigator's abstraction, that, like other ideal types, never existed? Or alternatively, could it be that in the past, we do find bounded, intergenerational communities whose members knew and depended on one another, unconsciously accepting the same structural rules, and sharing a homogeneous sense of solidarity and identity?

Second, much like unity between ethnographic and archaeological communities, archaeologists assume that humans of the past manipulated material representations in much the same way as people of the present. Consequently, with our social scientific training we can infer at least much of the meaning in and intention behind prehistoric material remains. But a new generation of investigators is questioning whether non-literate people manage material representations in the same way as individuals highly trained in the manipulation of formal symbols such as navigational maps, landscape paintings, architectural models, and of course, written documents (Cosgrove 1984; Cosgrove and Daniels 1988; Gow 1995; Ong 1982). Should archaeologists infer cosmological maps and abstract models resembling western representations in cultures that never employed the material techniques that shape western cognition (Gow 1995; Munn 1986)?

Although we cannot resolve these questions today, we can be alert to the ways contributors to this volume deal with the issues. Furthermore, I want to emphasize the need for a sound basis for constructing knowledge about the past. To develop a mature archaeology of community we must insist on high standards of verification that demand more than simple readings of the material record as though its meanings were self-evident. Researchers cannot conduct the archaeology of heritage at the same time as they are investigating issues that require "objectivity," like the antiquity of the "imagined community," or the universality of the "natural community." There is too much political agenda in heritage archaeology. Furthermore, we must eschew circular argument as well as the construction of knowledge based on cultural

oppositions and preconceived social typologies. Defining "community" with a list of attributes, and classifying a prehistoric "site" as a community, then ascribing all the characteristics of the community definition to the site is not a way to know the past. We are describing the theoretical abstraction, and imposing an ideal type onto past phenomena.

The contributions

One might think that the editors organized this book to highlight the opposition between the "natural community" and the "imagined community" concepts in Chapters 2 and 3. Tim Pauketat takes a strong "imagined community" stance, while Mark Mehrer prefers the assumptions of "natural community" theory. As the two articles show, each position entails other convictions. I find myself in agreement with Pauketat that the two positions are probably irreconcilable.

Mehrer draws his definition and concept of community from behavorist American cultural anthropology of the 1940s and 1950s, also the roots of American processual archaeology. The household and community are universal building blocks of culture, within which adaptation occurs. There is little room for human agency and contingent history, even when modern jargon is adopted. Rather, focus is on ideal types, orderly structures, and integrated systems. For example, readers are informed that the built environment can be understood as an expression of the social order, and it may "act" to reinforce that order. Of course, as "imagined community" theorists archaeologists conceptualize the built environment in terms of actors "producing" social order, not "expressing" or "reinforcing" dominant but unconscious rules and sentiments.

Mehrer assumes that culture is integrated and coherent, without contradictions obliging agents to experiment with alternative activities. Culture change is predictable, not contingent. Culture change follows theoretical expectations, and it is gradual except when qualitative changes occur between major evolutionary stages – the most prominent of processual archaeology's ideal cultural types (Ingold 1986).

Pauketat asserts that community results from formation processes that promote group identification. The sense of community is socially produced, and material activity – including the built environment, possession of distinctive objects exchanged by partners, and even "adherence to a given chief or king" – plays an active role in the individual's experience and the construction of identity. While he finds antecedents for the social production of identity in early social anthropology, Pauketat's inspirations regarding the nature of community come from anthropology and geography of the 1980s and 1990s.

Pauketat and Mehrer do agree that settlement changed significantly between Late Woodland and Mississippian times. However, Pauketat is not

interested in defining community for universal generalizations, or in characterizing ideal types, whether hut compounds, vernacular architecture or complex chiefdoms. Rather, he is prepared to assume that settlement and landscape are at once the means, the medium, and the outcome of social action (Soja 1989). So a radical change in the forms of prehistoric settlements and their spatial relations must have produced a comparably profound change in actors' identities and senses of community. Community is not an unchanging essence, but from time to time and place to place it is a different phenomenon. Pauketat refers to the new way of constructing community in the Mississippi Valley as the "politicization of the community," and employs the concept to ask the key question, how did Mississippian people's experiences differ from Late Woodland experiences?

Mehrer believes that the local community continued little changed, except for becoming more dispersed and less communal in producing and consuming food. He explains the isolated farmstead as an adaptation to the tribute demands of elites. Freedom to organize production and allocate labor at the lowest household level, he asserts, promoted more efficient agriculture in a context that did not depend on a centralized technology of intensification. Increased productivity enabled families to meet tribute demands while still living a Mississippian "good life." In this interpretation Mehrer seems to be arguing from the theoretical expectations of processual evolution rather than demonstrable archaeological data (Isbell 1995).

The startling change in Mississippi Valley settlement, from larger and more cooperative social units to smaller and more independent households reminds me of the history of household organization in the Central Andes. In Colonial and Republican times, cooperative, lineage-like organization was undermined by participation in the cash economy. Usually this begins with contradictions in the Andean peasant economy, that generate more need for cash than means of acquiring it. Short falls are resolved by temporary migration of younger siblings to jobs in mines, on commercial farms, or to domestic service in cities, but the resolution of one contradiction produces another (Harvey 1996). Wages that are earned can be turned over to the family head, in which case the migrant remains a cherished member of the kin-based commune. Indeed, during his/her absence the siblings and cousins did the work of farming and herding. If the migrant is to have access to the harvests, as well as continued use of family herds and lands, s/he must contribute equivalently. But the younger sibling can also keep the money, and reject the authority of senior kin. This usually results in ejection from the kinship commune, catapulting the individual into a capitalistic condition completely dependent on money. The process quickly reduces lineages to nuclear families with small holdings – much like Mississippian farmsteads. I have argued that just this process was responsible for the popularity of nuclear family organization in modern Andean communities, not an ancient and essential Andean cultural preference for

nuclear family organization (Isbell 1997). Certainly the experience of community also changed radically as large, cooperative lineages were replaced by nuclear families. Modern Andean villages are shaped by *ayni* and *minka*, labor exchanges between members of independent nuclear family households, as well as ritualized "thank you" feasts that accompany reciprocal obligations. And, of course, these institutions are dialectically related to institutions of ritual kinship, marriage, ownership, generational relations, gender, and much more. However, large extended families, in which the status of ascending generation conferred absolute authority, and kinship terminologically distinguished elder sibling as equivalent to parent, must have promoted a very different experience. Labor would have been organized within the lineage, and adults would not experience life as the balancing of obligations of reciprocity.

Let me make it clear that I do not think that dispersed Mississippian farmsteads were produced by wage labor. But the cultural change appears similar, in nature and in magnitude. Farmsteads were part of a social milieu with distinctive institutions for organizing labor and controlling land and other resources. Consequently, institutions of kinship, generational relations, post-marital residence, as well as gender, status and other aspects of life must have promoted certain experiences of life. On the other hand, communally focused hut compound villages necessarily operated with different institutions, organization, and lived experiences. I agree with Pauketat that this means that Mississippian people experienced "community," and life in general, in a way that was very different from their pre-Mississippian ancestors. Indeed, conceptualizing the community as an imagined phenomenon, not a universal essence, obliges Pauketat to inquire into the experiences of individuals, and populate prehistory with informed people instead of ideal culture types.

Many archaeologists working in the American Southwest have employed a natural community approach, but Robert Preucel's contribution enthusiastically embraces the "imagined community" perspective. He offers a brief history of the community concept as it has been used in Southwestern archaeology, but he does not present a definition of his own. Rather, Preucel is interested in identifying the processes that produce "community."

The context Preucel selects for study – the Pueblo Revolt and Spanish Reconquest period of 1680–1700 – was clearly a time of political struggle, realignment of identities, resettlement of entire groups, and ethnogenesis in the American Southwest. Preucel argues that "community" is constructed through discourses of difference and similarity among informed and motivated agents. At any given moment there are numerous competing discourses, and he selects two on which to focus. One is the discourse of a pan-Pueblo ethnic consciousness and the other concerns discourses of new village identities responding to the resettlement of formerly distinct groups in single pueblos. Using historical documents he identifies some of

the individuals and interests that played leading roles in shaping the discourse of pan-Puebloism, as well as discovering some of the methods and tools they employed.

Preucel interprets archaeological remains of the built environment at Kotyiti Pueblo as discourse about local community formation. He argues that the shape of the main pueblo asserts a traditional Keresan, as well as an archetypal Puebloan world view. Interestingly, this seems to expose the dual and contradictory conceptualization of community that I suspect so many archaeologists hold – community as an archaic essence with collective consciousness as opposed to an imagined community constructed by agents.

The radically different architecture of the *ranchería* at Kotyiti Pueblo expresses both participation in but separation from the Keresan social world, and Preucel goes on to speculate that it may have been built and occupied by immigrants who were not socially positioned to fully appropriate Kotyiti's sacred space. He discusses seemingly similar processes, both formally and socially, at other pueblos, suggesting that they represent ceremonial transfer in the creation of new local community identities.

Clearly Preucel believes that construction of imagined communities is not a feature unique to the modern world. Furthermore, the people who inhabit his Puebloan past possessed all the skills of representation in their manipulation of the built environment that characterize modern folk. Discussion of similar spatial organization responding to similar social pressures at other contemporary pueblos is Preucel's first, but very important, step in confirming his exciting and provocative interpretations. Finally, Preucel's communities are always anchored to territory.

Timothy Hare seeks to discover the essence of Aztec community organization by comparing the results of settlement archaeology with early colonial census records. Hare has a spectacular database for inferring alternative Aztec discourses of community. He also has an abundance of information that can be used to strengthen and verify interpretative arguments based on the "imagined community" concept. Specifically, he examines correspondences between Aztec "emic" census categories and real or "etic" information present in the archaeological record of Morelos. But Hare does not examine competing community concepts. Consistent with a natural community approach he provides readers with a definition of community as object, drawn from a dictionary rather than from the anthropology of the 1940s and 1950s. This definition resoundingly emphasizes the two-criteria community, territory *and* common interest. Operating with this implicit "natural community" concept, Hare cannot resolve contradictions in his sources, and is forced to conclude that that the Aztec concept of community was "too complex" to be encompassed with the information currently available.

Hare could resolve the contradictions by adopting the "imagined community" concept. It would quickly inform him that there never was one essential

"emic" Aztec community, but many competing discourses and representations. If he were to ask whose discourses of community shaped the census records, and whose discourses of community shaped the spatial information of archaeological survey and excavation, he would have a new basis for interpreting the contradictions with which he wrestles. As he shows, the census takers were promoting the *altepetl*, but then they were urban elites. What goals and political interests motivated censusing? And how did these goals differ from the goals and motivations of householders, or the goals of designers of local ceremonial facilities?

Readers should learn from Hare's outstanding research that survey archaeologists must be very careful about imposing popular interpretative models on field results. Many of Hare's carefully documented field results contradict the expectations of core-periphery models as well as demographic and ecological theories that dominate American processual archaeology. His carefully cross-correlated survey and census information for Aztec Morelos provides a wealth of knowledge that he only begins to exploit. I doubt that Hare will ever determine the essence of the Aztec community, but I do think he has made major advances in understanding how the elites mobilized the *altepetl* concept to reshape settlement and the experience of community in the heartland of the Aztec Empire. I also suspect that some of the disparities between the structure of census categories and the patterning of Morelos settlements expresses not the complexity of the Aztec community concept, but contradictions, resistance and power within sixteenth-century political hierarchy. Furthermore, spatial organization of Aztec settlements in the Valley of Mexico and Morelos probably reveals different programs of accommodation and resistance to central administrative power.

Sharing food is one of the most universal human acts that promotes positive experience and a sense of solidarity. Conversely, many ethnic identities are emphatically asserted in meals that require certain foods while prohibiting others. Few actions set boundaries as starkly as prohibitions that mean that "we" cannot eat "their" food, and "they" cannot eat "ours." Similarly, identity is stated in techniques of food preparation, and in the etiquette of service and consumption. Ritual and festive events are especially good contexts for consuming food, displaying dinner wares, and experiencing community. So Mary Lee Bartlett and Patricia McAnany are exploring an extremely rich domain for the study of community in the Maya past with their ceramic analysis.

Like Hare, Bartlett and McAnany do not explore the concept of community, and I suspect that this gives the paper an appearance of confusion. Their analysis shows that as political hierarchy increased in the Late Formative, symbolic expression of community in the production and use of ceramics also increased. Of course, a "natural community" perspective indicates that information encoded in material culture must express unconscious

norms – limiting material cultural communication to reinforcing the ideals. If encoded ceramic information were to produce social experience it would have to operate on formations that were neither natural nor primordial, such as social differentiation, or lineage ranking, but not "community." However, if we set this theoretical problem aside and consider Bartlett and McAnany's contribution from the "imagined community" perspective, it emerges as a fascinating gem.

The Maya ceramic analysis resolves patterns, but patterns that contradict one another. We learn that the undifferentiated ceramics of the Middle Formative were replaced by more homogeneous ceramics of the Late Formative, within which there was nonetheless a pattern of site-specific differences, frequently based on unique pottery specimens. What appears to be confusion is more likely to be the unintended discovery of competing discourses, all employing the important domain of ceramics. If so, this analysis deserves recognition for it provides documented support for the argument that the "imagined community," full of dynamism and contradiction, significantly predates modernity and postmodernity.

I believe that Bartlett and McAnany can find a great deal more meaning in the ceramic patterns they have so carefully documented by exploring the "imagined community" perspective. Viewing the Maya community not as primordial but as socially produced, the evolutionary rise of local elites would almost certainly produce interests benefiting from discourses promoting local community identity over regional identity. Shrinkage of the area within which pottery was manufactured, documented by clay sourcing, might be consistent with increasing emphasis on locality and its ceramic construction. Furthermore the abundant data of the complex ceramic analysis should provide opportunities to construct verification tests. I would suggest a test to determine whether ceramic variation within sites decreased as variation between sites increased. It seems logical that if communities were expressing more uniform identity in opposition to outsiders, members would prefer obviously similar ceramics, about which meanings would not be confused. Perhaps this expectation is contradicted by the documented popularity of unique ceramic forms in the material remains, but there is much to be done with this exciting analysis and the "imagined community" concept.

Jason Yaeger contributes one of the most fascinating chapters by trying to resolve the contradiction between the "natural community" and the "imagined community," a goal Tim Pauketat and I consider unrealizable. Of course he does not use my terms for the concepts, but if his model is convincing he may have resolved the opposition that is creating so much confusion in the archaeology of community.

To understand Maya prehistory in Belize, Yaeger constructs a three-stage hierarchical model, with the "natural community" at the base, and two magnitudes of "imagined community" above. He states that these are

simply heuristic devices, but in his characterization and use they become ideal types.

Yaeger argues that in many small communities mutual daily experiences create a shared set of mental dispositions similar to Bourdieu's (1977) *habitus*. These dispositions are essentially unconscious, undisputed, and uncontested, creating principles that structure the members' perception of the world, and their actions within it. Shared life experience, and the social interactions and interdependencies that they require, promote a "sense" of commonality out of which the solidarity of community arises. I think Yaeger has rediscovered the Murdockian and Redfieldian "natural community" of 1950s American anthropology, phasing it in the terminology of Bourdieu.

Yaeger argues that above the unconscious and natural community there exist "practices of affiliation." These are explicit representations of similarity and difference for the purpose of defining membership boundaries, and creating imagined communities that can be used as resources in social negotiations. For the analysis of complex cultures such as the Classic Maya, Yaeger recognizes a local "imagined community," created by social transformations that unify several "natural communities," and a larger, more regional "imagined community" that is politically negotiated out of numerous affiliation-based sets of local communities.

For me, the problem is that "mutual daily experiences," even in small communities are not homogeneous and constructive of uniform and nonreflective solidarity. Experiences are varied. They are socially produced and politically negotiated. Margaret Rodman (1992) shows that differently situated individuals, even in tiny settlements, experience place and daily life quite differently. Gender, and many other social classes crosscut small community life. Furthermore, Henrietta Moore (1994) argues that individuals, the "indivisible" egos of the community, are not actually indivisible and unconscious repositories of knowledge, but assemblages of contradictory representations continuously negotiating the process of becoming.

Yaeger infers that Maya residents at San Lorenzo participated in an unconscious and unquestioned "community" grounded in production and consumption activities, that simply distinguished itself from neighboring residential groupings. First, I doubt that the basics of production were unconscious and uncontested. In fact, much of Maya ritual focuses on the household, on the hearth and grinding stone, on agricultural production and the annual farming calendar. If these were unconscious and uncontested domains, why would there be so much discourse intended to affirm that naturalness? And if San Lorenzo were unconsciously and uncontestedly its own community, why did its members orient their houses in a direction that contrasted with other residential groupings? I think that Yaeger has done an excellent job identifying "practices of affiliation," that represent discourses of community identity at levels he identifies as above the natural community, but I also suspect that diversity and

negotiation of identity characterized the smallest settlement and even the Maya household.

Rosemary Joyce and Julia Hendon are powerful advocates of the "imagined community," resolutely identifying it as prehistoric, as they also recognize skillful manipulation of material representations by Classic Maya. Of course the Classic Maya were a literate people, with several millennia of sophisticated communication using art, architecture, dress, and other aspects of material culture. I confess that I was especially infatuated by the suggestion that orientation might reveal the time of the year a particular ballcourt was used.

In this outstanding example of interpretation, rather than simply inferring directly from the archaeological record Joyce and Hendon compare two very different kinds of sites. While this is not actually a verification process it involves independent data sets and produces stronger and more plausible interpretation.

Cerro Palenque is a densely agglutinated nuclear settlement, while the Cuyumapa complex consists of dispersed residences with local centralizing facilities but no single nuclear establishment. While the settlement complexes were of similar size, and perhaps even provided similar facilities, no one would disagree with the authors that the experience of "community" and sense of identity must have been very different in the two.

The chapter describes several concepts the authors recommend as useful tools for an archaeology of community. "Citation" consists of practices that repeat the same range of actions, incorporating the experience of community into human bodies as inhabitants move through the same buildings and countryside. Ruth Tringham's "multi-scalar" approach is developed to determine whether particular kinds of community experiences are congruent at different scales and in different material media. Paul Connerton's "inscription" consists of agents writing social memory into the landscape in the form of architecture. Michael Herzfeld's "social time" and "monumental time" respectively are time in which action is contingent, unique, real and subject to comparison, and time that is collective, predictable, idealized, and generative of convention. Settings for action are discussed in terms of intimacy, visibility, and circulation frequency, with performances that took place in larger settings considered more normative and hegemonic. Finally, Margaret Rodman's concept of multilocality is advocated for dealing with differential experience of place, in accord with gender, age, class, faction, and the biographies each promotes. However, the predominance of concepts Joyce and Hendon deploy for identifying the generalization of experience makes this a much stronger theme than multilocality and diversity of identity. The concept of "competing discourses" would help identify different voices, especially at Cerro Palenque.

Joyce and Hendon's exciting interpretations of the built environment are strengthened by the comparison of sites. On the other hand, how can

verifying criteria be brought to bear on ceramic changes? How should we understand modest differences in serving vessels? Does this imply an attempt to imitate? Or is it a calculated statement of difference? Furthermore, ceramics with broad distributions may have been involved in simultaneous discourses whose meanings cannot be understood in the context of a single settlement or area. As Audrey Horning vividly demonstrates in her study of Appalachian hollows identity, outsiders' stereotypes can be as influential as "citation," "inscription," and other insider experiences.

Valdivia, of coastal Ecuador, is one of the earliest and longest traditions of sedentary village life in the Americas. James Zeidler describes these first village settlements, focusing not on community itself but differentiation internal to the community. Gender is one of several social constructions that divides even the smallest community, whether conceptualized as natural or imaginary, producing profound differences in life experiences. Further, Zeidler uses Sanday's concept of "scripts for female power" to develop convincing inferences about female puissance during the rise of social differentiation over more than a millennium of Valdivia settlement history.

Zeidler takes "community" for granted, and by not exploring the implications of the "imagined community" he also does not examine the probable importance of elaborate spatial organization and ceremonial activities documented at the Real Alto site. Spatial analogies abound between prehistoric Real Alto and ethnographic Gê-Bororo villages of east Brazil. These modern settlements were characterized by semi-sedentism in which part of each year was spent in small nomadic bands hunting and gathering. However, when Gê-Bororo peoples were in their village communities they appear to have devoted themselves to the construction of community identity with singular dedication. Not only was the unity of the community affirmed in diverse ritual activities but cross-cutting internal differences were thoroughly explored. I infer that Gê-Bororo people annually reconstructed the sedentary community, reproducing at the same time a complex sense of the social space. Whether or not Valdivia's Real Alto inhabitants were sedentary or semi-sedentary, this new village community seems to have undertaken a comparably intensive program of producing and reproducing sedentary community life, employing a remarkably similar built environmental landscape.

If Zeidler is correct in his fascinating interpretation of two female burials and numerous figurines, Valdivia women attained significant prominence during the millennium-long rise of ascribed status in Valdivia society. But Zeidler's exciting analyses provoke additional inferences when they are considered in light of the "imagined community." He suggests that women not only occupied important shamanistic positions, but that rituals associated with their rites of passage accounted for the ubiquitous figurines, especially common in the earliest phases of Valdivia village life. It seems that Valdivia people were not only producing a new, sedentary experience

of space, but they were constructing a new experience of time as well, apparently an almanac organized around women's life changes, that could both join and divide generations. We might suppose that in sedentary village life, where heterarchy as well as hierarchy were becoming increasingly important, time conceptualized in annual seasonal cycles and perhaps human generations was insufficient. After all, a village had to deal with short- and long-term reciprocity, the accumulation of status from social and economic asymmetries, rotation of obligations and authority, inheritance, and much else that would not have to be contended with in nomadic band life. Zeidler's exhilarating study has many ramifications to explore.

Paul Goldstein is the only author who conceptualizes "community" as the expression of structural rules lodged in a collective consciousness. This is certainly a "natural community" concept, but not that of Murdock and Redfield. The assumption of deep structural imperatives owes its origin to anthropologists such as Claude Levi-Strauss and Pierre Maranda. For example, Goldstein is confident in his conviction that a timeless nature of the Central Andean *ayllu*, a social unit broadly similar to the Mexican *calpulli*, can be discovered ethnographically among modern Andean peasants. The essence of the *ayllu* is then determined by combining ethnographic data with ethnohistoric information, within the constraints of adaptation ecology and functionalist theory. Once determined in this way the essentials of the *ayllu* community can be projected into prehistory, at least to Tiwanaku times a thousand years before the Spanish invasion.

Goldstein's exploration of the anthropological concept "disapora" in relation to the Andean *ayllu* is fascinating, but it seems contradictory. "Diaspora" assumes an initial territorial basis for identity, that was shattered by historical events resulting in the dispersal of a people. Subsequent spatial separation is overcome by carefully maintaining mutual representations of the homeland, including hopes of return, combined with a sense of difference from the residents of host countries. But according to Goldstein, the Andean *ayllu* is explicitly *not* defined by territory, but by history. Obviously, if ever territorially contiguous the *ayllu*'s near-perfect adaptation to Andean environmental diversity would be nullified.

A critical question must be resolved. Can the essence of the *ayllu* lie in the spatial separation of its settlements, combined with redistribution of diverse products, while at the same time its members long for return to a homeland that, if it were ever to exist, would completely nullify the adaptive value as well as the deep structure of the *ayllu*? This is an interesting issue because it relates to several of the unresolved questions that plague an archaeology of community. Does the community concept apply to units that have no territorial basis? The "imagined community" concept implies that the answer should be "yes," but contributing authors have dealt only with territorial communities. Is Goldstein's contribution really an exception? Was the Andean *ayllu* a non-territorially based community? If so, did

it depend on an imagined homeland that completely contradicts everything else about the *ayllu*? Or is Goldstein working simultaneously with contradictory conceptualizations of the community?

Finally, Goldstein also argues that members of Tiwanaku *ayllus* residing in the coastal Moquequa Valley expressed their altiplano homeland identity with material culture and diet. Among the Tiwanaku homeland characteristics he cites are Tiwanaku-style ceramics, rocker grinders, a particular house form, and a maize-based diet. But many of these cultural features are not characteristic of Tiwanaku itself. For example, grind stones known from the Tiwanaku heartland are *metates* used with a flat *mano* that was pushed and pulled over a trough-like surface. Rocker grinders have not been reported for Tiwanaku. The "Tiwanaku" house form of Moquegua is also rare or unknown in the altiplano archaeological record. And how can eating maize express an altiplano identity if maize "cannot grow in the altiplano," as Goldstein asserts?

Audrey Horning is the only historical archaeologist contributing to this collection. She also makes the strongest, and perhaps the most convincing, argument against assumptions underlying "natural community" concepts. She warns archaeologists not to underestimate the self-awareness of the peoples they study, and speaking specifically to researchers who lack the rich assortment of documents from which she benefits, Horning asserts that the complexities, contradictions and negotiations of Blue Ridge hollows identities were reflected in the archaeological record she recovered.

Horning's examination of hollows communities addresses another issue I identified at the outset of this paper, the question of whether "imagined communities" characterize the prehistoric past as well as the modern and postmodern present. Her data are, of course, recent, but they span the emergence of postmodernity, and she shows us how they inform this issue. In the 1930s the isolated hollows of the Blue Ridge Mountains were represented as bounded natural communities by the sociologists working for the Shenandoah National Park project. By using archaeology in combination with historical data Horning shows that the "Hollow Folk" did manage the material culture of the outside society. They made strategic decisions about participating in the cash economy and consuming goods – from liquor and medicines to beds and automobiles. They made strategic decisions about identity, manipulating even the national perception of them as impoverished survivals from a past medieval era. She shows that the Blue Ridge hollows were never natural communities. Rather, the sociological descriptions were imposed stereotypes, based as much on the expectations of the investigators as the real life of the informants. This point is made abundantly clear. The bounded community, composed of natural members who interact daily, depending on one another and thus sharing the same culture, rules, and sentiments, is a construct of an out-dated social science. Horning concludes that community and identity have always been contingent,

volatile, and subject to the interests and self-awareness of individuals. While humans do live in communities of real individuals, identity and definition of the community are imagined. They are imagined differently, and constantly negotiated.

Another important contribution of the Appalachian hollows study is Horning's demonstration that self-aware community identities are always informed by, and interacting with, the outside society's stereotypes, concepts and power. Furthermore, memories and identities are reshaped by discourses across time. Blue Ridge Mountains survivors' sense of community in the past and the present is reproduced in dialogues with their children and grandchildren, with government agencies, with the survivors' organization, and of course, with archaeologist Audrey Horning. Other archaeologists would be well advised to attend to these issues in the prehistoric past, avoiding analyses of the community that do not explore greater space–time relations.

Conclusions

In conclusion this volume demonstrates that the community, a prerequisite of human life, is actively under archaeological investigation. Exciting and productive information is being collected, and stimulating inferences have been made about prehistoric communities. I argue that for the general study of past communities, archaeologists stand at a crossroads, facing two conceptualizations of the community. A mature archaeology of community must recognize the competing concepts, explore their implications, and determine what can be achieved with one, and what with the other. I believe the two are contradictory and mutually exclusive. If I am correct, choices must be made. At least one contributing author shares my belief, and one does not.

I believe that archaeology will benefit by explicitly adopting the "imagined community," and discarding the "natural community" concept, along with many of the evolutionary notions about ideal types and natural units that accompany it. Some archaeologists of community seem to agree, but others definitely do not. We need a dialogue and discussion around this issue that will lead to some resolution, even if it is no more than an understanding of the assumptions and implications of each approach, along with an agreement to disagree, but not to naively slip back and forth from one conceptual domain to the other.

This collection of papers shows how exciting archaeological studies of the "imagined community" can be. The past is populated with people who behave as interested and informed agents. Archaeologists recognize competing discourses, reading the material cultural record in terms of the lived experiences, and the management of representations by diverse interests. In this volume, much has been contributed to support the belief that

the "imagined community" is not a phenomenon unique to the present but a characteristic of human society for time immemorial. Much has also been presented to support the notion that the people of unlettered societies are sophisticated manipulators of representations, from landscape to ritual – that in turn can be understood by archaeologists. But these are concerns that require more investigation, and archaeologists must always demand verification of their precepts, inferences, and readings of past meanings.

Notes

1 Similar implicit evolutionary assumptions appear in the writings of Arensberg and Kimball (cf. 1965: 326).

2 Of course, we now know that many community names securely cemented into the ethnographic literature were never affirmations of a solidarity, but sometimes even derisive referents offered by informants from neighboring groups after repeated questioning by explorers, travelers, and anthropologists.

3 I am reminded of a friend who was inducted into the army during the 1960s. He had violently rejected his Catholic upbringing, and when asked what should be stamped on his dog tags, "C" for Catholic, "P" for Protestant or "J" for Jewish, he emphatically replied, "I'm an atheist, so put 'A'." When he was told that the machine had only "C, P and J," he retorted, "Then put nothing." The private quickly explained that all the settings on the die had to have some value for the machine to stamp the tags, "so I'll just put a 'P' for Protestant." "No," my friend said. "Put 'C' for Catholic." It was not sentiments of solidarity that persuaded him to have "C" on his dog tags. Hostile as he was to many of the defining characteristics of his Catholic community, the neutral identity he sought was not an option, and identifying himself as a Protestant or a Jew was unacceptable.

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